Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-89-155
Monday
14 August 1989

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FBIS-SOV-89-155 *14 August 1989*

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Chief Arms Negotiator Sums Up Geneva Talks

LD1108151389 Moscow TASS in English 1450 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 11 TASS—Summing up results of the 11th round of the Soviet-U.S. negotiations on nuclear and space weapons in Geneva, Soviet chief negotiator Ambassador Yuriy Nazarkin told a news briefing here today that the sides had "specified their stands, which is especially important now that a new administration has taken office in the United States and begun a 'strategic review' of its foreign and defence policies."

The discussion of major unsettled issues helped the sides lay certain groundwork for the future on some of the issues. The sides made progress in coordinating wordings within the framework of their current positions.

The only thing that saw no progress is the texts of draft agreements on outer space, Nazarkin said, adding that "the sides' aproaches to the issue differ too much to allow any headway."

"The Soviet side proceeds from the fact that there is an objective mutual interrelationship of strategic defensive weapons and strategic offensive weapons," he said. "Therefore, a treaty on 50 per cent cuts in strategic offensive weapons can be concluded only if the anti-ballistic missile treaty is observed."

Nazarkin said that the main unsettled issues related to the treaty on strategic offensive armaments included the issue on sea-launched long-range cruise missiles.

On the problem of mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles, Nazarkin said that "continuing its active search for mutually acceptable solutions to this problem, the Soviet delegation to the talks offered some new considerations that could help solve the problem of verifying limitations on this kind of strategic offensive armaments."

"The Soviet side advocates maximum and efficient verification of implementation of restrictive or prohibitive provisions in respect of all strategic offensive armaments to be covered by the treaty."

During the 11th round, the sides paid serious attention to the issue of "suspect-site" inspections, the Soviet negotiator said, and the Soviet side took steps to draw the sides' positions on this issue closer together.

'Top Priority' Program Discusses Arms Talks

LD1208172789 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 11 Aug 89

["Top Priority" program presented by Vladimir Pozner, with Professors Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov]

[Text] [Pozner] How do you do, ladies and gentlemen. This is Vladimir Pozner presenting "Top Priority." With me on the panel as usual, Dr Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov. And I just dropped my glasses, but that shouldn't scare you at all. At least I didn't break them. Today we'll be speaking about what is probably a very important issue to all of us, not just to the United States and the Soviet Union, but generally speaking all over the world. And that is the issue of nuclear disarmament after the 11th round of the negotiations in Geneva. And of course the appeal, the address, of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR concerning a complete and total ban on all nuclear blasts, testing, what have you. Who would like to start the discussion going?

[Bogdanov] Vladimir, do you believe that there is a kind of a link between the first question and the second question? The results of the Geneva talks on strategic offensive weapons and Supreme Soviet appeal on banning all the tests. My opinion is there is a very close link, and one is very closely connected with the other. Now if you come, if you start with the first item, of course we cam make some, already we can make some, some, if you like summaries of the first round of the talks.

[Plekhanov] [Words indistinct] after a long vacation.

[Bogdanov] A long vacation of the new administration. So my impression—it's a very clear cut impression—is that the American delegation was not yet ready to proceed (?ahead) with the very serious business. Again, that's my impression. They are dragging back with details, important details, but coming back to already almost settled, or about to be settled problems of the treaty. I would like to remind our listeners that the treaty as it is, and by the assessment of some experts it's ready by 50 percent and even more than that, but still you have a number of key problems, key problems like sea-launched cruise missiles and like ABM [word indistinct] (?in spite of) ABM treaty. Then you have some problems with the air-launched cruise missiles. But I would like to remind our listeners that we had a very special experiment with the Americans, at our Black Sea fleet—Navy—and the team of Americans sent a very, very, very influential team with a couple of congressmen came on board of our most modern cruiser (Goryn Flavr), and they had a very interesting experiment, (?which is) whether it is possible or not to check if there is a nuclear weapons on board or not. And to my impression (?and publicly) and official conclusion is that with the existing designs—technical means—you can find out yes, that there is nuclear weapons on the board.

[Pozner] Let me interrupt you there for a minute. I had a discussion with Academician Yevgeniy Velikhov, who was instrumental in organizing that visit that you just spoke about and the experiment on the Black Sea that made it possible to verify whether or not modern technology allows one to discern between nuclear weapons on board a vessel and the power of those weapons and simply nuclear fuel that may be used on certain types of vessels, and Academician Velikhov said that it had been conclusively shown in the presence of these Americans

that you could absolutely and clearly distinguish whether or not there were nuclear weapons on board a ship. And not only whether or not they were there but how powerful they were, so that the issue of verification really is no longer an issue. Now you have just said, Dr Bogdanov, that your feeling is that the American delegation was not really prepared for these negotiations, and was kind of bringing up details not so much because the details were important, although you admit they were, but mainly to slow down the progress of the talks.

Now Dr Plekhanov, do you feel that that is so, and if that is so, why? What do you think that the present administration, President Bush, is somehow [changes thought] has a different approach to this whole issue as compared with his predecessor?

[Plekhanov] I think that there are two main problems which the administration has not been willing to deal with seriously, and they both involve the development of two largescale military programs in the United States. One is of course the SDI, which stubbornly refuses to die, and of course the SDI comes into conflict with the ABM treaty.

[Pozner] Let me interrupt you just for a minute. You say it refuses to die. I agree with you, but it is no longer what it was. It's become a different animal, I mean one of these little brilliant pebbles or something. It's—obviously the people in charge now realize that SDI is not this total shield, it's not going to do what it did—it's a whole new ballgame, and it's a different weapon, even though of course you're right when you say that it contradicts the ABM treaty. But it's no longer SDI. It should be called, I don't know, something else.

[Plekhanov] I remember a cartoon in an American newspaper which shows a pile of little stones, and says that's what the space shield has been reduced to, brilliant pebbles....

[Pozner] Brilliant pebbles....

[Plekhanov] But brilliant pebbles as a program is still in contradiction with the ABM Treaty.

[Pozner] Absolutely.

[Plekhanov] And the problem is that the technological developments continue to exist, continue to evolve, and the administration still—the U.S. Administration still is reluctant to conclude whatever [pauses] to enter into whatever mutual commitments which might in some way or other slow down or curb or damage the SDI program, which is becoming less and less logical considering the facts that you've just cited. Now, the second thing is perhaps even more serious, because here you deal not with something that is under development but something which already exists. I mean the SLCM's, the submarine-launched cruise missile. According to some observers on the American side, the very program was designed not so much to, ah, improve the military might of the U.S. Navy and to acquire an additional capability for strategic strikes, nuclear strikes, against the Soviet Union, but to throw a spanner in the works of the arms control process, because really the SLCM is a kind of weapon which is very difficult to verify—the absence of which is very difficult to verify—and the U.S. Navy is adamantly insistent that SLCM's not be part of the strategic arms reductions. Now of course that would make a hole in the reduction—in the 50 percent reduction—through which you could drive, you know, half a navy; or [pauses] and a couple of submarines. And of course it doesn't make sense to reduce, for instance, the ground-launched strategic missiles if there are, if there is a growing fleet of strategic submarine-launched cruise missiles. So the cruise missile remains a very, very difficult obstacle to overcome. Now the importance of that experiment which Dr Bogdanov has referred to and you've discussed, is, I think great, and I think it is very strange that the U.S. government so far has refused to look seriously at this experiment, despite the fact that there are very respectable experts (?that have) been involved.

[Bogdanov] Sergey, if they look at that seriously, they will have to come to very, very serious conclusions and they will have to give to their own delegation in Geneva some different kind of instruction.

[Plekhanov] At least they'll have an argument against those naval officers who say that it can't be verified [words indistinct].

[Pozner] I tend to agree with Dr Bogdanov. Clearly if they look at it seriously, then they're going to have to admit that you can verify something that they've always said you cannot verify, and if you can verify it, then of course you can talk about cutting back, because you can verify how much you have cut back, and they don't want to do that, clearly. Incidentally, that experiment [words indistinct]. There were several things happening. Besides the naval experiment, the American military, and I believe congressional people, were also shown the Soviet laser beam installations which supposedly were so powerful, according to American data, that they could knock down something, you know, send the beam up to outer space or down from outer space. It was, you know, the Soviet SDI program. When they saw what we had, they had to admit that it was like hundreds of times weaker than what had been written about in the U.S. press.

[Bogdanov] That's another example how the powerfulness of our means of destruction are rather created not at our end but in the American, in the Americans' mind, you know in the American imagination.

[Pozner] So what do you think? Do you think that the present administration, President Bush and the people around him, are really not interested in achieving his

very important agreement, a 50 percent reduction in offensive strategic nuclear weapons? Do you think that they are hedging, or what's your feeling? Either of you?

[Bogdanov] My feeling is that you, we, you, you, you witness the usual American situation. You have pros, you have contras [as heard], you have different groups within the administration ..

[Pozner interrupts] Well, that's for sure.

[Bogdanov]...fighting one, fighting fo; another. So far they haven't made up their mind. I mean what they are up to. But I would like to call your attention to one very unhappy coincidence. They were discussing all these problems in Geneva at the moment, and the military preparations were passing by to Congress. Mind you, if they were taking some positive measures in Geneva, dealing efficiently with all these problems, what would be the congressional reaction appropriating money? [as heard] Half, maybe one quarter!

[Plekhanov] Well, Congress has already reduced funding for...

[Bogdanov] Yes, already, yes, but Sergey, imagine for a while that if the process in Geneva were more, more efficient than it was. So I believe that because of that unhappy coincidence the administration had to slow down, just to demonstrate to the Congress that things are not as bright as one can imagine.

[Plekhanov] I think one important reason why the administration is dragging its feet is that while nuclear weapons are not as costly as conventional weapons—it's common knowledge that the bulk of the defense budget in the United States, and I assume in the Soviet Union as well, is consumed by expenditures on non-nuclear weapons....

[Pozner] Conventional.

[Plekhanov]...conventional weapons. That's why I think there is more readiness to move ahead in reductions of the conventional forces in Europe, because I think the negotiations that have a much better chance of producing a good, substantial—substantive—agreement than they are on the strategic weapons front. I think what is required here is some kind of a combination of factors, political factors, which would change the political equation in Washington, and force the hand of the administration.

[Pozner] Alright, what about the appeal, or the address of the Supreme Soviet on the issue of a total, complete test ban? Unilaterally the Soviet Union observed such a test ban for—I think it was 18 months—hoping that the United States would follow suit, the United States saying that, well, the Soviets did it because they were so far ahead that they could permit themselves not to test, whereas the United States was in full testing period of new weapon systems and could not permit itself the luxury, and that it was something the Soviet Union knew, and therefore it was a propaganda move, and blah, blah, blah. Now the Soviet Union again is proposing to stop all nuclear tests. Clearly if you stop testing you cannot develop new nuclear weapons—that's two and two make four.

A. Is the Soviet Union, in your opinion, deep down inside, honest about this proposal; is it really willing to stop all nuclear tests? B. Is it because the Soviet Union has an edge that it can propose this? And C, what is going to be the American response?

[Bogdanov] There is one very important point in all that: Very active participation of public opinion of this country in that process, and I believe it would be of some interest to our listeners to know that the so-called informal movement which is called Nevada Semipalatinsk took very active part in trying to ban all the nuclear testing at Semipalatinsk.

[Pozner] That's in Soviet Kazakhstan. That's the main testing site in the Soviet Union.

[Bogdanov] In Soviet, in Soviet Kazakhstan. In spite, by the way, Vladimir, in spite of the position of our Defense Ministry. If you remember our defense minister, at the time of his confirmation, made a very welcome speech, where we are going to blast then, we have no right to blast here, we have no right...where then, he said? I believe this is his business, not our business to pick up places for their testing. And people went there, (?30,000) informals, I mean informals, they are not...

[Pozner, interrupting] What you are saying is that they are not official yet, they don't represent any official organizations.

[Bogdanov] It was, it was very spontaneous, you know very powerful, demonstration against all kinds of testing in Nevada.

[Pozner] Right. Let me....

[Bogdanov interrupting] I'm sorry.

[Pozner] Right, our time is running out. I still want your anwser. A, do you think the Soviet Union is honest in its proposal?

[Plekhanov] Oh absolutely, I have no doubt (?of) that.

[Pozner] Is the Soviet Union ahead? Is that why it can allow itself to say let's stop testing?

[Plekhanov] No I don't think so.

[Bogdanov] Vladimir, I don't believe in that. I don't believe in so called edge. I'm a little bit in that business for so many years that I'm old enough to believe that in edge, the so-called edge means what, that you can kill 2 million more or 1 million less, you call (?it) an edge?

[Pozner] I see what you're saying.

[Bogdanov] So?

[Pozner] So what is going, what is the Amerian reaction ultimately going to be? Is it in the United States' interest to stop testing?

[Plekhanov] Well of course it is in the United States' interest, and I think the Congress has already voted in the past a resolution in support of a ban on testing, a moratorium on testing, to help the negotiations. So I expect that there will be some reaction, positive reaction, on Capitol Hill. Whether it will be enough to pass a resolution to ban U.S. testing I'm not sure.

[Pozner] What do you think Dr Bogdanov?

[Bogdanov] I believe in American public opinion and in American public common sense and American movement. Nevada is becoming very active and very powerful and so far as I know very soon a powerful demonstration is going to take place at Nevada testing site.

[Pozner] But don't you agree that if there is a total, comprehensive test ban that means basically the end of the development of new nuclear weapons systems?

[Bogdanov] Yes, I do.

[Pozner] And do you think that in America the military industrial complex—and in the Soviet Union—are going to allow that to happen?

[Plekhanov] They will not take it lying down. They will not voluntarily do it, but if the public forces them, they'll have to comply.

[Bogdanov] Yes I agree.

[Pozner] And you're optimistic?

[Plekhanov] Yes.

[Pozner] You are, Dr Bogdanov?

[Bogdanov] I'm not.

[Pozner] You're not, oh you're pessimistic?

[Bogdanov] No I'm not, I'm pessimistic.

[Pozner] Thank heavens. I was getting worried there because you're always pessimistic and here you [words indistinct]

[Bogdanov] I am pessimistic.

[Pozner] You're pessimistic. Well usually I side on that issue with Dr Plekhanov. I am also optimistic and on that note let me wish all of our listners good listening. We'll be back a week from today at the same time.

Team of U.S. Inspectors Arrives in USSR
LD1108120689 Moscow TASS in English 1151 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 11 TASS—The United States Government made a formal request on Thursday to observe the present Soviet troop manoeuvres, of which all participating states in the conference on security and cooperation in Europe were notified in June.

Guided by the document of the Stockholm conference and the interests of building trust and security in Europe, the Soviet Union has granted the request.

The team of four U.S. inspectors arrived in the USSR today.

Pacific Missile Tests End; Area Open to Navigation
LD1208141389 Moscow TASS in English 1338 GMT 12 Aug 89

[Text] Mosow August 12 TASS—In connection with the completion of the planned tests of carrier-rockets, TASS is authorised to state that the areas of the Pacific Ocean limited by the rectangle with the coordinates:

41 degrees 23 minutes northern latitude and 174 degrees 26 minutes western longitude, 42 degrees 03 minute northern latitude and 172 degrees 54 minutes western longitude, 34 degrees 54 minutes northern latitude and 168 degrees 04 minutes western longitude, 34 degrees 14 minutes northern latitude and 169 degrees 36 minutes western longitude;

Within the radius of 30 nautical miles, with the centre with the coordinates 0 degrees 15 minutes southern latitude and 153 degrees 20 minutes western longitude, which were announced on August 8, are open to navigation and air service from August 13, 1989.

Hungarian Tank Brigade Demobilized
LD1108214389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Excerpts] Hungary has started cutting its national armed forces.

[Correspondent Ye. Shirokov] We greeted this morning in the little town of Szabadszallas, 70 km from Budapest. The 145th Independent Tank Brigade of the Hungarian People's Army is quarterd here. Today, in accordance with the decision of the government of the republic, it is being disbanded. The guards are not asking for passes today. The military camp is open to everyone. [passage omitted: the exemplary nature of the brigage and the sadness of the demobilized soldiers being lessened by the knowledge that the unilateral Warsaw Pact troop cuts are for the sake of a more trusting atmosphere in Europe]

By the end of next year, several military units will be disbanded in Hungary. Bearing in mind that, by this time, more than 20 Soviet military units will be removed from the country's territory, the number of troops in Hungary will decrease by 20,000. The military budget in Hungary will be cut by 9 percent. [passage omitted: some of the brigade's equipment can be used for civilian purposes and the rest will be melted down at the neighboring Danube metallurgical plant, which also will be retraining many of the unemployed soldiers; the only tank left at the base, which will become a technical training center, will be the World War II T-45 relic] [Video shows Shirokov shown joining crowds of civilians watching ceremonies, children climbing in and out of tanks]

USSR, GDR Aides Confer on Warsaw Pact Matters
PM0908142389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] I.P. Aboimov, general secretary of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee and USSR deputy foreign minister, received G. Koenig, GDR ambassador to the USSR, 2 August.

They had a comradely conversation during which they examined certain aspects concerning USSR and GDR participation in multilateral cooperation within the Warsaw Pact.

Foreign Ministry's Perfilyev Briefs Press 11 Aug

General Summary of Briefing

LD1108193889 Moscow TASS in English 1913 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 11 TASS—Attempts to use the process of forming the Polish Government for destabilising the situation in the country and inflicting damage on its allied obligations, including those under the Warsaw Treaty, and on Soviet-Polish cooperation would not promote the interests of the stability in Europe, Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, told a briefing here today.

Asked about Soviet assessment of numerous comments on the formation of a new Polish Government he said that this is a domestic affair of Poland.

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman noted that under the conditions of the policy of national concord pursued in Poland, the government is being formed with taking into account the interests of all influential political forces in the country. He expressed the hope that a balanced approach would prevail and adequate means for tackling problems facing Polish society would be found.

Austria's joining the European Economic Community, most of whose members are NATO allies, is a major political issue capable of changing the entire alignment of forces in Europe as Austria is not the only country whose interests are directly involved, Perfilyev said. He briefed reporters on the contents of the memorandum which Soviet Ambassador to Austria Gennadiy Shikin handed over on Thursday to Austria's Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky. The memorandum states the Soviet Government's attitude to Austria's application for EEC membership.

The Soviet Union's position on all issues concerning Soviet-Japanese relations remains unchanged, Perfilyev said. In answer to a Japanese journalist's question about the possibility of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Japan, he said that the USSR strives to maintain mutually-beneficial and useful relations with all countries, the more so with neighbouring ones. A contract at foreign ministers' level has already been established. As to a visit to Japan at summit level, we have no concrete data on this score so far, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Reporters were told that chief of the General Staff of the Somali Armed Forces Brigadier-General Maslah Mohamed Siad [name as received], heading a Somali military delegation, was received at the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces on August 10. Perfilyev said that the Somali delegation's visit took place at the request of Somali President Mohamed Siad Barre in the framework of the overall process of gradual restoration of Soviet-Somali interstate relations.

Answering a question about the decrease of Soviet deliveries of gas to Finland in connection with the accident at the pipe-line not far from Ufa, Bashkiriya, he said that the deliveries reduced somewhat indeed. But this refers not to gas, but to gas petrol which makes up an insignificant share in the total volume of oil products supplied by the USSR to Finland.

Perfilyev said that on August 10 the United States Government made a request to the Soviet Union for an inspection in the USSR territory in connection with an exercise of Soviet troops of which all the countries, participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) were informed in June. Perfilyev said that being guided by the document of the Stockholm conference, the interests of confidence-building and security in Europe, the Soviet side had given a positive answer to the U.S. side. A U.S. inspection group consisting of four persons arrived in the USSR today.

Touching upon a round of consultations between experts of the USSR and the United States on problems of Central America, underway these days in London, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said that the practice of regular exchange of opinions on these themes has been existing for several years and on the whole has proved effective. It enables the participants not only to grasp better the essence of the processes taking place in the region and establishing the positions of the sides on specific aspects of settlement, but also to bring them closer in separate cases.

Discusses Afghanistan Situation

LD1108163489 Moscow TASS in English 1605 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 11 TASS—While attempts of the armed opposition to decide the question of power in Afghanistan by a military way fail one after another, the opposition intensifies its terroristic and propaganda actions, Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, told a briefing here today.

The propaganda activity is constantly backed and stimulated by the mass media of the West and Pakistan, he said. The media recently alleged that there are 15 hundred Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan. The Voice of America radio station referring to mojaheedin sources, reported that Soviet pilots participate in combat operations on the Afghan territory and that one of them was, allegedly, downed in Afghanistan. It is only that nobody can confirm this, as it was said in the broadcast.

Such inventions can only be explained by the striving to justify the failures of the military opposition somehow, Perfilyev said. But this is clearly not enough. In order to be getting aid from abroad and to convince Afghans that

the rebels' victory is not far off there is a need for military successes or at least something resembling them. But where there are no such things, so recourse to invention is made.

At the same time, attempts are made to play down the inhuman essence of combat operations, terrorism and shelling of residential quarters of Kabul and other Afghan cities, which results in civilian casualties, the Soviet diplomat said.

Meanwhile efforts are made by Pakistan and Afghan rebels to conceal from the United Nations the continued supply of arms from Pakistan to Afghanistan.

Perfilyev said that since the United Stats supplied F-16 fighter bombers to Pakistan, the Soviet Union has to take into consideration such steps, and there might be a need for some additional deliveries of Soviet armaments to Afghanistan.

Considers Austria's EEC Bid

LD1108155189 Moscow TASS in English 1523 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 11 TASS—Austria's joining the European Economic Community, most of whose members are NATO allies, is a major political issue capable of changing the entire alignment of forces in Europe as Austria is not the only country whose interests are directly involved, Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, told a briefing here today.

He said that Soviet Ambassador Gennadiy Shikin had met Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky on Thursday to hand him a memorandum stating the Soviet Government's attitude to Austria's application for E.E.C. membership.

Perfilyev briefed reporters on the contents of the memorandum, which noted, among other things, that joining the European Community is not only an economic matter. It is a serious political issue as the European Community has set itself a task to supplement economic integration with forming an alliance pursuing a single foreign policy and a policy in the field of security.

The Soviet Government is confident therefore, the document says, that membership of a consistently neutral state in an organization like the European Community may deprive it of actual opportunity to pursue neutral policy. With this in mind, the Soviet Government has viewed with concern Austria's intention to engage in negotiations with the European Community with a view to join it.

At the same time the document notes that the Soviet Union has not overlooked the fact that the Austrian Government reiterated the country's commitment to consistent neutrality and the policy of neutrality when applying for membership of the European Economic Community.

The Soviet Government has also proceeded from the assumption that Austria will undeviatingly stick to its obligations under the 1955 state treaty, the memorandum says in conclusion. The Soviet Union has always sincerely sympathized and highly appraised good-neighborly relations with neutral Austria. Its intention is to strictly adhere to this policy vis-a-vis Austria in the future too.

Says Position on Japan 'Unchanged'

LD1108142589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1355 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 11 Aug (TASS)—The Soviet Union's position remains unchanged on all basic questions of Soviet-Japanese relations, Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration said at the briefing here today.

Answering the question from a Japanese journalist about the possibility of the visit to Japan by Soviet leader Gorbachev, he said that the USSR is striving for its relations with all countries, especially with neighbors, to be as mutually advantageous and useful as possible.

A contact at the level of foreign ministers has already been established. But so far as a summit-level visit to Japan is concerned, we have not yet had any specific data in this respect, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

KGB Officials on Western Intelligence Activities

LD1108165189 Moscow TASS in English 1613 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 11 TASS—"KGB organs have rendered harmless approximately thirty agents of Western special services in the past few years," the weekly "FACTS AND ARGUMENTS" writes. The magazine has published a transcript of a talk of KGB officials with workers of the Moscow plant named after Khrunichev.

Replying to questions put to them, they described some of the methods used by foreign intelligence services against the USSR. Thus, numerous concealed microphones, so-called "bugs", are often found in Soviet offices abroad.

The counter-intelligence often has to deal with those who pass commercial secrets over to foreign organisations. Convicted this year, for instance, was a certain Lukashvich, former official of the Ministry of Industrial Building Materials, for taking bribes and supplying representatives of foreign firms with classified information.

The KGB officials demonstrated during the meeting certain types of technical intelligence equipment used by Western states against the USSR. They said that flying over Soviet territory were some 40 spy-satellites, six of which are designed to gather information from Soviet radio-relaying communication lines. There are about 2000 monitoring posts, strung out along the Soviet borders. As many as 150 reconnaissance flights are effected monthly along the Western frontiers of the USSR and 70 along the Eastern. Spatial monitoring devices allow Western intelligence services to discern on Soviet territory various objects of 1-1.5 meters in size. There were also facts when means of technical intelligence were used in Soviet territory proper.

Referring to American sources, the KGB officials said that the United States annually spends about 20 billion dollars on technical intelligence.

'Observers Roundtable' Views Poland, Arms Talks

LD1308190789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 13 Aug 89

["International Observers Roundtable" program, chaired by All-Union radio foreign political commentator Igor Pavlovich Charikov, with Anatoliy Leonidovich Adamishin, USSR deputy foreign minister, and Professor Radomir Georgiyevich Bogdanov, first deputy chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee and doctor of historical sciences—live or recorded]

[Text] [Charikov] Well, let's get down to business. It goes without saying that we're all worried about the development of events in Poland, over the issue of forming the government of the Polish People's Republic. We know the candidature for prime minister. But now in recent days a qualitatively new situation has arisen, in which no concrete solution is as yet visible.

[Adamishin] Yes, you're right. The internal political situation in Poland has been exacerbated. It has to be said straightaway that the resolution of internal Polish issues is the business of the Poles themselves, and of course no one can interfere in the resolution of purely internal affairs. But it's equally obvious, as you've rightly said, that we cannot help being anxious about what's happening in that country—a country which is our neighbor and our ally, connected to us by thousands and tens of thousands of threads—political, economic, scientific-technical, cultural and humanitarian, ties of every kind. The worsening of the situation has come about because of the fact that, after the appointment of the chairman of the Council of Ministers of Poland had already taken place in the Polish parliament, the Solidarity leader, Walesa, in violation of the accords that had been adopted in the framework of the policy of national harmony which, as we know, is being carried out in Poland, proposed the idea of forming a government without the participation of the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR]. And he not only proposed the idea, but began taking practical steps to put it into effect. Of course, in view of the interests of various influential forces in the country, this evoked a serious reaction on the part of those forces.

From our point of view, from my point of view, at this crucial moment that Polish society is living through, attempts to exploit the process of forming a government for the purpose of destabilizing the situation in the country and inflicting damage on its obligations as an ally, including those under the Warsaw Treaty and the many-sided Soviet-Polish cooperation, cannot of course be in the interests of stability in Europe.

[Bogdanov] We all remember that from the start, the PZPR advocated setting up a grand coalition, as it's called, and saw in a grand coalition the only way out of the political crisis. What is the grand coalition? It means the participation in that coalition of the PZPR, the Peasants' Party, the Democratic Party plus the lay Catholics, and representatives of Solidarity—the so-called citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group.

As our listeners will probably recall, Solidarity occupied an intransigent position: No, we won't join this grand coalition, no, we don't like this grand coalition. And, incidentally, you remember, and everyone remembers, that actually over the question of the prime minister—who was to be prime minister, Kiszczak or someone else—there wasn't even any problem. That candidature went through, in fact, without difficulties of any kind. Then suddenly, with literally only a few hours to go, comes this declaration, which as you rightly say, does indeed give the impression of, if you like, some sort of coup d'etat. I go so far as to define the situation in that spirit. Not in the sense that it has already happened, but in the sense that what Solidarity is demanding has the signifiance of a coup. All the agreements that have been reached are being broken; all that had been agreed upon at the roundtable; actually, the basis on which the parties approached the elections and went to the polls also flies out of the window, so what's left? All that's left is the attempt to seize power by ousting the major political force, the PZPR.

[Adamishin] It seems to me that on our part the hope can be expressed without any hesitation that the means of solving the problems that face Polish society—and those problems are, you're quite right, complex and ambiguous—that those means will be adequate and that a balanced approach will prevail, which will not lead to a destabilizaion of the situation in Poland, which in turn, as you realize, could not fail to affect the situation in Europe as a whole.

[Charikov] Yes. Perhaps we should leave our discussion of the issue of the situation in Poland there, and wait for more up-to-date reports. Meanwhile, the subject I suggest we return to is this: Last week the 11th round of Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space armaments ended in Geneva. The journalists who are commenting on the results of the round are calling it the most difficult and

complex. Well, in the first place because it was taking place after the change of administration in the White House. And secondly it took place after a 7-month break, during which the Bush Administration had been revising—as announcements on the subject stated—revising its positions on various aspects of foreign policy, and of course on the U.S. stance at those talks. They had even changed their ambassador. Well, it is the usual procedure, when there's a change of administration, to have a change of ambassador.

So there it is. The road was indeed difficult, but nonetheless, according to the first assessments, both ours and those of the Americans, the round was, all in all, if you balance out the pluses against the minuses, rather positive.

[Adamishin] I would perhaps agree with that appraisal, but I would add in brackets that we also changed the head of our delegation at the talks, though the reasons were of course quite different from those for which the U.S. representative was replaced. What can we say have been the pluses of this round? It was the shortest of all the discussions held with the United States on this range of problems. The plus is that we succeeded in beginning the discussion—after the break taken by the Bush administration for a general reconsideration of its policy in various spheres—from the point where the discussion stopped last November. In other words, there was no slipping back. The Bush administration reaffirmed, on the whole, the continuity of its positions. You understand that this is extremely important, because, as it is now customary to say, a large potential has been produced by the work already done, we have achieved a serious headstart in elaborating a treaty on reduction of strategic offensive arms, and if we were to give up this start that has already been achieved and had to begin all over again, that would of course be a serious backward step. That has not happened. So the plus is that the U.S. Administration has confirmed the continuity of its positions.

[Charikov] As Bush had promised, actually.

[Adamishin] Yes. So we will be able to build lengthwise, rather than across. I think the minus of the round is that at this round we have not managed to get any progress in any of the areas where disagreements had already, earlier, formed in the positions between the Soviet Union and the United States. That has not been achieved.

[Bogdanov] Anatoliy Leonidovich has brought out very precisely, as it were, the meaning of that word. On the one hand, there has been success in preserving continuity and not destroying the fruits of the work already done. There you have the credit side. On the other hand we have not been able to move forward even by a single step in the areas where we should move forward. In fact, on all the key problems where there is disagreement—especially with regard to cruise missiles, control of sea-based cruise missiles, and retention of the ABM treaty—we are at a standstill. My question is why? What has actually changed in the position of the administration? What is its position?

Here I would like to remind our listeners of a rather contradictory, very interesting, and I would say, unusual situation. On the one hand, military activity, in the most positive sense of this word and unprecedented until now, is in evidence in Soviet-U.S. relations: Admiral Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, visits the Soviet Union; Soviet warships, for the first time in the postwar period, pay a visit to the United States; Marshal Akhromeyev, adviser to the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium gives evidence in the Armed Services Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives; a return visit by U.S. warships to Sevastopol. Even if you draw some sort of curve it turns out that activity is very much on an upswing. If you add to this the contacts of our leading officers through NATO channels, and even such an unusual thing as exchanges of visits by Soviet soldiers to Finland who met their colleagues, then you get quite an interesting, positive picture.

What about on the other hand? On the one hand, a problem remains unresolved, and here I would just like to remind you of a contradictory situation: the problem of modernizing tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, a problem on which we have gotten stuck in Geneva. Will we make progress or not? What is happening in the meantime? In Sevastopol, on the missile cruiser "Slava" a unique experiment is conducted around which all the arguments have been raging for a long time. Is it possible to verify the presence of nuclear weapons on board, or is it impossible to verify it? The United States contended for many years that, no, it is not possible.

[Charikov] They are saying it even now, in spite of....

[Bogdanov, interrupting] Quite correct, but they took a group of U.S. specialists, I think two or three congressmen, on board the missile cruiser "Slava" and they conducted an experiment in front of everyone which gave....

[Charikov,interrupting] The method of remote verification.

[Bogdanov, continuing]...verification, which made it possible to determine that yes, there are nuclear weapons on board, and approximately what kind of nuclear weapons these are. So, what am I driving at with all this? Is the administration prepared, after all, is the administration prepared, conceptually and politically, for a breakthrough, a breakthrough because everything that has been achieved until now with the Reagan administration produced, as you said, is already vested in a draft treaty for a 50-percent reduction, which is lying on the table.

[Charikov] Four hundred fifty pages.

[Bogdanov] Four hundred fifty pages. It already exists; it is only a matter of refinements in making progress on certain key factors. My question is: What is the administration doing? If it is not ready, then for what reason? I also would like to draw your attention to a very interesting coincidence; the discussion of the most acute questions in Geneva coincided with the passage of the U.S. military budget through the U.S. Congress. [laughs]

[Charikov] But I think this coincidence is fortuitous, but look how it is reflected in the course of the talks. Imagine that the U.S. delegation in Geneva is conducting itself constructively, that it is embarking on constructive solutions, progress is being made, but then go and try to convince the legislators in Congress that they should hand over all these billions that the administration is trying to squeeze out of them, if everything is proceeding well. This is where the contradiction can lie.

[Adamishin] Radomir Georgiyevich, you can speak for our position with a greater or lesser degree of cogency, but you can speak in definite terms on all parameters: on the state of our internal affairs, on the aims we are setting for our foreign policy. We want to achieve this agreement. Well, you know yourselves that we are carrying out unilateral measures, without waiting for any agreements. We need agreements in the field of disarmament all the more. At the present stage, it seems to me, the sort of approach is prevailing with the Americans from which they can go in both one and the other direction. According to the assessments of our specialists, they have not finally determined their position in matters of their nuclear rearmament, their nuclear programs. In accordance with this, it is difficult for them to decide what they embark on and what they cannot. At the same time, work is going into producing the sort of material in, say, such a complex field as the question of verification, which seems to indicate that there is an aspiration to conclude an agreement, that is, if you have no desire to conclude this agreement, then why are you hammering out the question of verification with some precision and in some detail? Precisely in this round there was certain headway in this matter. You will recall that with the conclusion of the treaty on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles, a real breakthrough was made in the field of verification, something that appeared completely impossible yesterday. Now, and you have mentioned precisely the American's first-ever visit to the Sevastopol military base, and so on, we are proceeding further and further in the direction of openness, predictability, and trust in this field, the military field, in the field of verification, and thereby, it seems, there are some positive shifts on the U.S. side.

[Bogdanov] Your analysis was very interesting, and it again suggests to me the thought! Are the Americans ready, or not? I agree with you that they are not ready, but my question is: Why are they not ready? Here I would like to make a slightly unexpected transition to what is happening in our country. The Americans are a very pragmatic people; they follow with great attention what is happening in our country. They assess, so to speak, the prospects for perestroyka, where it might end, and you know what a struggle is going on inside the U.S. administration, the political elite, what differing assessments there are on this score. I cannot escape the feeling that, especially in these circles, which make the decisions on military and strategic questions, that they always have a thought in the back of their minds: What if things do not work out for them? What if something changes with them—with us, that is—changes in such a way that despite all our calculations that the consistent line toward alleviation, disarmament, ending confrontation, curbing the Cold War will continue, someone else will come and all this will change. Is there not this brake, completely made up, perhaps, even artificially inflamed? However, at a session of the National Security Council they are confirming the directives for the U.S. delegation, directives for Ambassador Burt in Geneva, someone will always say: Why should we hurry? Let us see what happens with them; let us wait another 2-3 years. Why rush?

[Adamishin] I have the impression—and I was actually in the United States recently—in another area, the area of humanitarian consultations, I have the impression that more and more influential currents are now forming there which have as their convinced aim to promote the processes of perestroyka in the Soviet Union. This does not mean that we do not have enemies there. It does not mean that there are no negative factors in U.S. policy. It means that more and more people understand that the destiny of the Americans themselves and the destiny of peace throughout the world and so on, depends to a considerable degree on how things go in the Soviet Union. I have to say to you that these feelings, at least this is what I observe, are penetrating more and more into the U.S. Administration itself, whose position, in my view, is moving from one of wait-and-see to something ever more positive with regard to the development of relations with the Soviet Union, and you have just cited a whole number of specific examples.

I would also like to disagree with the view that the U.S. Administration is not ready for the conclusion of an agreement with us on strategic weapons. I said at the very outset both yes and no. There was no progess at this round, radical progress, as they say, on those contradictions, but softly softly, as they say, material is being worked out, and if I were now to be asked, what do you think, when all is said and done, will this treaty on strategic offensive weapons be concluded, your point of view? Diplomats always say, maybe it will be concluded and maybe it will not be concluded, but somewhere you have to choose, you have to say, no, there will be no such treaty, or you have to say, yes, this treaty will be concluded. It is my firm conviction that there will be a treaty and....

[Bogdanov, interrupting] God grant, God grant.

[Adamishin]...that it will be concluded, and I will tell you that the attitude to our perestroyka will help toward this treaty being concluded. I will cite you some examples in certain other areas of the disarmament process. In any case, quite a considerable step has been made at the talks in Vienna on reducing conventional weapons.

[Charikov] Yes, they have started serious talking there.

[Adamishin] This also shows goodwill with regard to the Soviet Union, or at least, the impossibility of not responding to the upsurge that is being put into effect on our side. I could cite the example that, say, at the talks on stopping nuclear explosions progress has been achieved with the Americans at these talks. So with all the limitations and provisos, of course, I would rather look on these prospects with optimism, with optimism.

[Bogdanov] It is a very rare case when a very high-ranking diplomat expresses himself so optimistically. It is a rare case, I will say honestly. A position is always taken that is more flexible and leaves room for interpretation. I am, by the way, very glad to hear this, because I have a very high respect for the professional judgement of Anatoliy Leonidovich, and I have believed him for many years now. That is very good, but does it not seem to you that there is, after all, a fundamental difference between what is happening in Vienna and what is happening in Geneva? These are two totally different conceptual things. Today the question of the destiny in general of nuclear weapons as such is coming more and more to the fore. It is not just a matter of reducing them by 50 percent or 70 percent, 6,000 warheads, 3,000 warheads. The discussion is expanding more and more on the suitability in general of this kind of weapon, its destiny, if you like, the doctrinal and conceptual future of these weapons. If we take a glance from this point of view at the difficulties that are being experienced, in Geneva and in other areas, then clearly, this is a question of no small importance.

We are continually drawing closer and closer to, if you like, to some general debate by the whole of mankind on how we might perhaps—in general it is time to finish with this....

[Charikov, interrupting] Well, as yet....

[Bogdanov]... and altogether halt all these games. I know what you will say—namely that as yet....

[Charikov, interrupting]...they are not ready to give up the idea that nuclear weapons are a guarantee of peace. They are not ready to give up this concept.

[Bogdanov] Not everyone is ready.

[Adamishin] But Radomir Georgiyevich is right. We are getting closer and closer to giving a definite answer to this question. I would say to you that the position of the Soviet Union, which a long time ago, at least 3 years ago, stated quite definitely that yes, if you consider that there is a danger in nuclear weapons of mankind being annihilated as a species, you should make the following logical conclusion, and say nevertheless let us ban nuclear weapons and finish with them—this position of the Soviet Union is quite specific and at every stage, as they say, of negotiations and political discussions it has been expressed quite specifically. This position is having a mounting influence. Therefore in this respect I am in complete agreement with you.

[Charikov] I should like to touch briefly upon the following subject. In 2 days' time on 15 August it will be 6 months since the day that Soviet forces left Afghanistan. Well, 6 months is in general a short period to immediately give a general appraisal of the processes that have been taking place in the country since the withdrawal of the Soviet forces. But nevertheless events have been developing there in quite a turbulent way and in a certain sense altogether not in the way that was expected in the West. There was no immediate collapse of the government in Kabul. The Afghan army has proved to be sufficiently capable in combat to repulse the offensives of the armed opposition. Nor is everything proceeding so smoothly within the opposition itself. There is the well-known position of the group of so-called field commanders and there is the well-known positions of the two opposing groupings, the two alliances.

[Adamishin] Well, taking into consideration the short amount of time allocated us I should like literally in telegraph fashion to set forth my viewpoint. The first thing I should like to stress is that our forces have been in Afghanistan and have left the country and that this question is one of the most important for the Soviet Union. Indeed the recent visit to Kabul of Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, the USSR foreign minister, which has been one of many such visits, shows that Afghan affairs are at the focus of attention.

A second point is that you are right when you said that not such a long period of time has elapsed, but the results of these months—the 6 months which have passed since the withdrawal of Soviet forces—have definitely been encouraging. A serious test has already been passed by the Najibullah government. It has already been passed. Its position, as far as can be judged, is growing stronger both militarily and politically. Well, I shall not speak about the military situation. It has been more or less under everyone's gaze. Politically its position has been getting stronger, firstly because it is seen that it is precisely the central government that is proposing a peaceful path for resolving the problems facing the country. It is making generous proposals to the opposite side, generous proposals for sharing power.

[Bogdanov] Generosity is a sign of strength...

[Adamishin, interrupting] A sign of strength.

[Bogdanov, continuing]...and self-confidence.

[Adamishin] Meanwhile, the other side, not having the opportunity to achieve victory by military means—and it is banking precisely on military means, and in conditions in which the people are tired of war this is definitely not an attractive position—not having the possibility of achieving victory by military means, it is resorting to terror, such as the constant missile bombardment of Kabul, and so forth and so on. This is the striking difference, as they say, and people can see it. As a result of this, the position of the central government is getting stronger. Another point is that the government is now able to avail itself of a powerful patriotic upsurge because it is clear that in many ways the rebels are identified with foreign forces, the direct involvement of mercenaries, the direct involvement of Pakistani instructors and officers, and so forth. When you have on your side such a powerful force as a patriotic movement, so to speak, against foreign interference—the Russians have departed, but foreign interference...

[Charikov, interrupting]...is continuing.

[Adamishin, continuing]...is continuing—your political position gets stronger. The third point that I would like particularly to mention here is the fact that in the opposition camp itself there are not just, so to speak, differences and squabbling. An armed struggle also is under way. This certainly weakens the position of the opposition and strengthens the position of the central government. You mention field commanders. According to the figures I have, more than 110 armed formations, numbering about 25,000 armed people in all, have already concluded accords with the central government on halting the war.

[Charikov] That is a considerable number.

[Adamishin] Negotiations in this regard also are under way with an additional 80 field commanders. This shows that people, indeed, are striving for peace in Afghanistan's societies, so to speak, by a policy of national reconciliation.

[Bogdanov] One probably can draw from this the following conclusion: Just imagine in a purely hypothetical way that tomorrow, for certain reasons, foreign interference on the side of the rebels were to cease. What would happen? There would be an automatic halt to the civil war immediately. Therefore, the root of the matter is a halt to interference in Pakistan's affairs—sorry, in Afghanistan's affairs. The conflict is artificial in its character and is being artificially aggravated. Perhaps I am not right, but it seems to me that after the departure of the Soviet forces no objective root cause for the fratricidal war remains. The only thing remaining is this outside, foreign interference.

[Adamishin] Well, there are, of course, various points of view in this regard. I would like to draw attention to the fact that in this particular aspect U.S. policy—to me, at least—really seems completely incomprehensible, if not absurd. What a load of talk there was, saying that the entire root of the evil was the presence of Soviet forces and claiming that the whole Afghan people has united against the presence of foreigners. The Soviet forces have departed and literally only a matter of a few Soviet people remain in Afghanistan. Nonetheless, the enormous U.S. aid, so to speak, to the rebels is continuing. Even with this aid they cannot attain their goal of taking power by military means. For all intents and purposes, the Americans are promoting a military solution of the issue. It was against this that they were once expressing opposition, when they accused us—so to speak—of feeding the war in Afghanistan. The last thing I would like to say in this respect is this: The regime of Najibullah, the central government, is holding on, with our assistance, certainly, and we are continuing to carry out our commitments. This is not a violation of any accord, the Geneva Accords included. We do have bilateral commitments.

[Charikov] Indeed, Eduard Amvrosiyevich, in his interview for the BAKHTAR agency, spoke precisely about that.

Esteemed comrades, I fear that our time has run out. Permit me to thank you for your participation in our program and our listeners for their attention. All the best, esteemed comrades, until we meet again!

Observer Views USSR's World Economic Role

PM1108152889 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 5

[V. Matveyev article under the rubric "Political Observer's Opinion": "Cooperation, Not Self-Isolation"]

[Text] Our country's voice, at a conference of leaders of the six leading Western countries and Japan? Who could have imagined it, only a few weeks ago? But now M.S. Gorbachev's message to F. Mitterrand as president of the country hosting such a meeting—the 15th since 1975—is the subject of animated comment by statesmen and information media worldwide. It was discussed on the final day of the conference. The documents it adopted make no mention of the message from Moscow. They had been prepared beforehand, and an ultraprompt response from the "Seven" was not to be expected.

The "Moscow letter" raises long-term, radical problems that are important for all countries. It follows on from what the Soviet leader said from the UN General Assembly platform last December. And it is only natural that the addressees were the countries that account for around one-half of world trade, because the message concerns the future of the economy on a global scale.

Our country is not simply declaring an interest in how affairs develop in this very extensive and mutlifaceted sphere, it is expressing willingness to become actively involved in the processes that make up the world economic shape of our planet.

That is the fundamental point. The details will have to be examined later, when it comes to defining the fundamental attitude of the governments that received the message toward its content.

President Bush, I think, wrongly narrowed down the purport of the document when he assessed it from the viewpoint of the USSR's interest in participating in meetings of the leading industrial states and correspondingly put forward his own conditions for the USSR to join the "Seven": a transition to a market economy in the form practiced in the West.

But what if it is a question of a socialist market? Does that mean that in that case the USSR and the other socialist countries cannot be full, active participants in world economic processes?

The full potential for such participation has yet to be developed and realized, both because of the socialist countries' own passivity and because of the resistance of some influential circles in the West to the full involvement of these countries also in the world economic processes taking place within the framework of the OECD, the IMF, GATT, and other organizations that function as part of the system created by the leading Western countries.

With the thawing of the international climate, some of these organizations have begun to open their doors more widely. Thus Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia now belong to the IMF. Its total number of members is more than 150, but the USSR is not a member of the fund, although formally it operates under UN auspices.

They tried to isolate us economically—and we ourselves did much to promote this, making a virtue of necessity and painting an unrealistic picture of a world in which the socialist system will not only successfully take care of itself, but will triumph on a worldwide scale.

The mirror image of such principles was the views that prevailed in the ruling circles of the United States and its partners, concerning the possibility of the West's achieving hegemony through the economic weakening of socialism.

Military confrontation was promoted by the equally fierce and mutually destructive foreign economic confrontation. Many of our specialists are now writing and talking about the negative effect that this had on our technological potential. That is only natural. But the major Western countries did not profit from the profound demarcations in the world economy and trade, either. One could, for instance, cite a remark by Zh. Blarden [as transliterated], director of the Lyons institute of social sciences, in the French newspaper LA CROIX. He wrote: "The U.S. balance of payments deficit is a direct consequence of its worldwide strategy. In order to secure its presence as a counterweight to the communist countries, America augmented its investments abroad through the mediation of multinational firms and considerably increased military and economic aid to its allies."

Incidentally, on our side we have also not always had a rational approach to aid to friendly countries. This ultimately turned against both our interests and theirs, by weakening the USSR's material base and its potential in the world economic arena.

In gambling on full participation in world economic affairs, the USSR is not guided by motives of "crowding out" some countries and "boosting" others. World developments are raising increasingly urgently the task of pooling states' efforts for the sake of common human goals and values. Of the 40 points discussed at the meeting of the "Seven," more than half were to some extent concerned with environmental conservation. This is a task that is international in every sense of the world. As are many others that are in the forefront of international life.

Their resolution will only be made more difficult if some people assume that there are more and less interested parties in this matter, and that therefore it is possible to demand from the more interested parties preliminary conditions for cooperation.

The USSR, in gambling on a voice in world economic affairs, has real potential and is fully determined to back its stake with actions. These actions could be of the most diverse kinds. We do not expect the West to help us, we are prepared to cooperate with it on equal, mutually beneficial principles.

It is useful to recall the program that was put forward by the Soviet delegation at the first international conference, in Genoa in 1922, in which representatives of the new state took part. The Soviet statement at the conference said: "Responding to the needs of the world economy and the development of its production forces, the Russian Government is consciously and voluntarily prepared to open its borders to international transit routes and make available for exploitation millions of acres of very fertile land and very rich forest, coal, and mineral concessions, especially in Siberia..."

Many industrialists in the West responded to this readiness. In the twenties we had joint enterprises with Western businessmen. You only have to leaf through our newspapers from that period to see how lively this form of cooperation was, on the basis of the observance of the USSR's sovereign rights. From the early thirties this cooperation began to be cut drastically, and disappeared. For at least half a century our country was in effect in a state of self-isolation, as far as extensive ties and exchanges in the foreign trade sphere are concerned. The elimination of this situation is no easy task, but it is

necessary and possible, despite the caution and sometimes outright opposition of Western circles that are reluctant to abandon their entrenched view of the USSR and the other socialist countries as the "enemy."

Life itself dictates progress in this sphere. The USSR is not suggesting anything unusual or risky. Our country is responding to the demands of today and tomorrow.

United States & Canada

Kornilov Says Bloch Allegations 'False'

LD1108113789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0950 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 11 Aug (TASS)—TASS political observer Yuriy Kornilov writes:

"The investigation on the possible spying activities of Bloch has come to a dead end. The atmosphere created around this investigation is reminiscent of a farce." This was stated by the U.S. TV company NBC when dealing with the controversy in the United States surrounding the "high-ranking staff member of the State Department, Bloch," who is purportedly "guilty of activities in favor of the USSR." We have asked a representative of the responsible Soviet bodies to comment on these remarks.

"In Moscow," he noted, "right from the beginning it was announced that until a few days ago the name Bloch did not mean anything to anybody in the Soviet Union, and we have not had anything to do with him. The inventors of the false information, however, have continued to have their own way, unfolding before U.S. residents new details on the 'spy escapades of Bloch,' presented in the style of a cheap detective novel. All this has ended as one might expect: soap bubbles burst, and those who released them have, as we can see, become an object of ridicule in the U.S. mass media. 'A farce,'—this is probably the most accurate thing that one can say about this spy and propaganda show."

In their time many observers have often drawn attention to the following regularity: As soon as a turn for the better is noted in Soviet-U.S. relations, certain circles in the United States are stricken by yet another attack of spymania. It would seem that such methods, with the help of which some people try to complicate the situation, to engender mutual suspicion and distrust, should have been handed over to the archives long ago. But as we can see, confrontational stereotypes are alive even now....

What should one say in conclusion? If the lovers of "sensations" in the United States cannot give up spy and detective stories, and cannot tear ever-vigilant eyes away, then they can be advised to do one thing: Ladies and gentlemen turn away from our sinful land and turn them to the sky where precisely in these days the "Columbia" space shuttle and the supersecret satellite launched by it are carrying out the Pentagon's program. Up there in space you will definitely discover what you are looking for and without any fabrications. Here these spying and space structures have nothing to do with our country. On them you can clearly see the writing: "Made in the USA."

Bush Remarks on Arms Control Talks 'Illogical'

PM1108091689 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Aug 89 Second Edition p 6

[Vitaliy Gan article under the rubric "Correspondent Comments": "Time Presses"]

[Text] Washington—Dates of all kinds are venerated in America, especially anniversaries. The year 1789 saw the start of the annals of the U.S. war ministry, reformed in 1947 as the Defense Department. A bicentennial is a good pretext for thinking about the present and future. That is probably how the ceremony just held at the Fort Myer military base was planned. The supreme commander of the U.S. Armed Forces, otherwise known as President Bush, did not, however, dwell on history for long. It seems that the ceremony was chosen as another occasion for putting pressure on the Congress. It has already been reported that the draft military budget for fiscal 1990 submitted by the administration has found itself in difficulties on Capitol Hill. Whereas the Senate showed loyalty, in the main, to the Pentagon programs, the House of Representatives substantially reshaped them, which was naturally tantamount to a defeat for Bush, who was counting on the miraculous efficacy of his "hand extended in cooperation" with the Democratic majority in Congress.

Be that as it may, it is hard otherwise to explain the fact that the President called for the very Pentagon programs that make it extremely difficult to achieve reasonable, mutually acceptable agreements with the USSR in the arms control sphere. This view of the matter can hardly be regarded as purely my own—American experts hold it too.

Against the background of the White House's disarmament declarations, Bush's "arguments" appeared strange; they amounted to the following—without a mobile basing mode for 10-warhead MX ICBM's and the creation of the new Midgetman single-warhead mobile ICBM, without series production of the highly costly B-2 "invisible" bomber, without "Star Wars," arms control talks will come to an end. Why, one wonders? It seems that these things "will make any strategic arms limitation agreement more effective," and in general "give the Soviets an incentive to return to the conference table."

This last point is particularly illogical. The Soviet Union has no need to return to the conference table, because it is already there. Concrete, far-reaching proposals are on this table, aimed at a just resolution of the main questions that are keeping the two sides from agreement. It is another matter that the White House is not yet prepared to take key decisions in the sphere of arms control policy. But time presses.

Baker, Bessmertnykh Meet in Washington
LD1208061589 Moscow TASS in English 0601 GMT 12 Aug 89

[Text] Washington August 12 TASS—Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, first deputy foreign minister of the USSR, met here James Baker, U.S. secretary of state. During the talk held they discussed the present state of Soviet-U.S. relations in the light of the forthcoming contacts at the minister level.

An exchange of views was also held in a wide range of disarmament, regional, international, transnational and bilateral issues with Lawrence Eagleburger, first deputy secretary of state, Robert Kimmit, Reginald Bartholomew, Robert Sikes and Dennis Ross, under secretaries of state, and Robert Zoellick, State Department advisor.

U.S. Nuclear Power Inspector Previews Agenda
LD1108125489 Moscow TASS in English 1209 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Kiev August 11 TASS—"It is easy for us to work with Soviet specialists, since we have the common goal of ensuring the safety of nuclear power stations," Leonard Callan, director of the Nuclear Safety Inspectorate of the Fourth Regional District of the United States, told TASS. He heads a delegation of U.S. nuclear regulatory commission inspectors visiting the Zaporozhskaya nuclear power station.

The American specialists' working visit was arranged within the framework of the commission's accord with the USSR state committee for supervising safe conduct of work in industry and nuclear power engineering on such exchanges.

We have a busy schedule lasting two months, Callan said. We will work at the Zaporozhskaya station for five weeks. Our schedule also includes working meetings with senior officials of the USSR State Committee in Moscow and with chiefs of the Ukrainian regional inspectorate in Kiev, a tour of the Chernobyl nuclear power station and Slavutich where power specialists live. We will also visit Leningrad for some sightseeing, he said.

Callan noted with satisfaction that the inspectors' talks with the director of the station and its staff were open and frank. This is very important for fruitful work, he said.

Soviet inspectors have the same high professional level that I demand from specialists. I am convinced that exchanges of inspectors and assimilating all useful and effective experience are needed in the interests of improving safety at nuclear power stations, Callan said.

Ministry Denies U.S. Congressmen's Allegations
LD1108172489 Moscow TASS in English 1658 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 11 TASS—There are no political prisoners in correctional labour camp No 35 in Perm (Urals). TASS correspondent Igor Peskov was told in the USSR Interior Ministry in connection with remarks by two U.S. congressmen at a news conference which took place in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow on Thursday [10 August].

The two congressmen, Frank Wolf and Christopher Smith, members of the committee for supervision over the implementation of the Helsinki agreements, visited the camp and expressed supposition that some prisoners of the above-mentioned camp could be qualified as "political prisoners" and in so doing mentioned convicts Kazachkov, Smirnov and Lubman.

The TASS correspondent was told in the USSR Interior Ministry that Kazachkov had been convicted by the Leningrad city court in 1976 for passing documents containing a state secret to CIA agents and for smuggling operations to the tune of eight thousand rubles and two thousand French francs and profiteering by selling pictures.

Another prisoner, Smirnov, was convicted by the Moscow city court in 1982 for passing secret technical documentation to a foreign secret service.

Lubman was convicted by the Leningrad regional court in 1978 under Article 64a for passing data which constituted a state secret to a CIA agent in 1977.

One can understand the congressmen who spoke in favour of these people because the latter spied for the United States. It is only in defiance of obvious facts that Kazachkov, Smirnov and Lubman can be reckoned among 'political prisoners'.

As for hard conditions in which the prisoners are kept in the camp, which was also mentioned by the U.S. congressmen, not everyone of course is pleased with being close-cropped, with meals lacking variety, or with the need to obey the administration's instructions.

But in general, would anyone argue that conditions in which convicts are kept at the places of detention are far from being comfortable ones?

Congressmen Tour Chemical Weapon Destruction Plant
PM1408102989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by special correspondent A. Itskov: "Let's Exchange Technology"]

[Text] Chapayevsk-Moscow—These words of members of the U.S. Congress House Armed Services Committee were heard yesterday at the Soviet plant for the destruction of chemical weapons in the region of Chapayevsk

City, which is ready to start work. Congressmen L. Hopkins and B. Stamp were the first representatives of Western countries to visit this most modern specialized stationary enterprise for the destruction of chemical weapons. The plant in the region of Chapayevsk City is geared to the daily destruction of 1-5 tonnes of phosphoric organic toxins within a technologically closed cycle absolutely harmless to people and the environment.

During the plant's construction the strictest account was taken of safety requirements: the maximum automation of all technological processes, the transportation of toxins in a vacuum, work with single weapons, the duplication of all sampling and monitoring apparatus. And, finally, the monitoring in triplicate of the air of the entire zone of the establishment for the destruction of chemical weapons using autonomous systems.

The U.S. congressmen were shown models of the entire cycle of destruction of chemical weapons from field artillery shells to missile chemical warheads.

The U.S. congressmen were also told frankly about the difficulties which the plan administration is encountering in connection with mass protests from the local population reluctant to be in the vicinity of what from their viewpoint is such a "dangerous" enterprise.

"But how do you intend to resolve this complex problem, with which we are well acquainted?" the U.S. congressmen asked.

"By the most democratic means," was the reply. "The plant will not be commissioned until the conclusions of the government commission created in connection with the protest have been discussed in the very near future and agreed on with the public."

The visit ended. The U.S. congressmen imparted their impressions.

L. Hopkins: Our visit to the Soviet plant for the destruction of chemical weapons in the Chapayevsk region is a big step toward the consolidation of mutual trust.

B. Stamp: I fully agree with this assessment and want to add on my own behalf that your technology for the destruction of chemical weapons is very impressive.

Visit Sevastopol, Sarny Missile Base

LD1208175189 Moscow TASS in English 1625 GMT 12 Aug 89

[Text] Sevastopol, Crimea, August 12 TASS—By TASS correspondent:

A delegation of American congressmen led by Les Aspin, chairman of the Armed Services Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives, visited the main base of the Black Sea fleet on Saturday.

The guests went to see the guided missile cruiser Slava, familiarised themselves with the life and combat training of the seamen and toured the sights of the hero city.

Congressman William Dickinson told TASS that during the tour they saw a lot of interesting things. At the missile base Sarny, they watched the elimination of yet another RSD-10 [SS-20] installation. When visiting a motorised rifle division, they were shown up-to-date combat hardware and were given all technical characteristics of it.

After inspecting the modern combatant ship today, we became firmly convinced that the Soviet military personnel are skilled specialists, Dickinson said. They answered all our questions in full. I am sure that such meetings when one gets first-hand information promote the building of mutual trust and, it means, the relaxation of tensions. I hope that our military personnel will be as frank during such contacts.

Adm Ilg on 'Supremely Useful' Sevastopol Visit

PM1108091189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Aug 89 Second Edition p 5

[Interview with U.S. Admiral R. Paul Ilg by unnamed TASS correspondent: "'They Were Useful Contacts,' U.S. Admiral Says"]

[Text] Sevastopol, 8 Aug—The official visit by a detachment of U.S. warships commanded by Admiral R. Paul Ilg, deputy commander in chief of the U.S. Navy in Europe, to the Black Sea Fleet's main base has ended. The cruiser "Thomas S. Gates" and the frigate "Kauffman" headed for the open sea today.

Prior to their departure a TASS correspondent conducted an interview with the commander.

[Correspondent] What are your impressions of your visit to the hero-city of Sevastopol?

[Ilg] Sevastopol is a marvelous city! We received a cordial welcome from officials and ordinary people. We could not have imagined the reception would be so cordial. When I saw the crowds of people gathered on the wharf for the first time and the seamen formed up on the ships' decks I realized that this would be a special visit. I want to thank Admiral M. Khronopulo, the officers from the fleet's staff, City Mayor Ye. Generalov, and all the people of Sevastopol for making our visit unforgettable.

[Correspondent] It is well known that the 6th Fleet is based 700 miles from the USSR and 6,000 miles from the United States. Do you not think that this fact attests to a nondefensive mission?

[Ilg] The presence of the 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean attests to the historical ties between the United States and Europe—cultural and trading ties and ties guaranteeing the latter's security. We are profoundly convinced that the seas will be free irrespective of the presence of the 6th Fleet there.

It is very important for us to ensure that the world's oceans are open to all countries' shipping since we have land borders with only two states and consider ourselves to be an island country. Maritime lines of communication not only closely link the United States and the NATO bloc in the sphere of trade but also help strengthen our allies' might. The presence of the U.S. 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean in peacetime demonstrates the political will of our NATO allies and counters international terrorism.

[Correspondent] During your visit you had several meetings with the population, representatives of the civilian authorities, and the Black Sea Fleet command. In your opinion, what role do these meetings play in confidence-building between our countries, peoples, and fleets?

[Ilg] The meetings with all officials, both military and civilian, bore positive fruit, since we obtained an idea of one another. This fact heralds the establishment of new relations between our countries and their armed forces.

I believe that our relations must continue to be based on mutual respect and growing trust. This can only be achieved through frank and constructive dialogue. This applies equally to our seamen. On meeting Soviet people, they were able to gain a closer knowledge of their aspirations and hopes and see for themselves that the Russians are hospitable, friendly people. They were supremely useful contacts.

'Columbia' Shuttle's Military Mission Noted

PM1108090589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Aug 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "'Columbia' Takes Off"]

[Text] New York, 8 Aug—The U.S. "Columbia" space shuttle took off today from the Cape Canaveral space center (Florida).

The launch countdown was kept secret until the last minute. "Columbia's" landing time at Edwards Air Force Base (California) is also still a secret. Only the five astronauts on board the spacecraft have been named. They are all officers in the U.S. Armed Forces.

The reason for this secrecy is that the entire current mission of "Columbia"—the oldest U.S. "shuttle," which had its maiden flight in 1981—will be part of a Pentagon program. According to the U.S. press, the craft's payload bay contains a reconnaissance satellite created with the use of the latest technological achievements. Space experts reckon that with its help U.S. military personnel will be able to obtain an image of facilities on the territory of the Soviet Union, China, Near East states, and other regions of the world. In addition to putting this satellite into orbit, the crew's tasks also include the implementation of a number of experiments of military significance.

Maj Gen Markelov Condemns 'Spy Satellite'

LD1108103589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0954 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 11 August (TASS)—Major General Yuriy Markelov, who heads the press center of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, sees the launch of the U.S. intelligence-gathering satellite from the "Columbia" spacecraft as a "gesture quite incommensurate with the atmosphere of the expanding Soviet-U.S. dialogue."

Maj Gen Markelov commented today on the statement by Donald Rice, secretary of the Air Force, who confirmed that the satellite had been launched. In a conversation with Oleg Moskovskiy, a TASS correspondent, Maj Gen Markelov drew attention to the fact that the satellite, now in orbit, is capable of receiving images of facilities situated on the territory of the Soviet Union, China, states in the Middle East and other regions of the world.

The strict secrecy of the "Columbia" spacecraft flight program compels one to reflect that Washington continues, as of old, to see space as a possible theater of military operations, concludes Maj Gen Markelov. Special attention is, moreover, being paid to the implementation of the space shuttle program which, from the very beginning, was made subordinate to the interests of the Pentagon. The U.S. space shuttles are to be used for intelligence-gathering, for inspecting facilities in space, for testing SDI components, and for testing new types and systems of weapons. "The launch of the spy satellite on Thursday is evidence that these plans are hardly theoretical in nature," said Maj Gen Markelov.

An impression is being created that certain U.S. military and political circles are trying, by any possible means, to spread the arms race to space, without pausing to reflect on the consequences of such actions for international peace and security, said the general. This approach is in sharp contrast to the USSR's approach to making use of space. "Our country is in favor of space forever remaining clear and free of any weapons, so that it does not become an arena of the arms race and a source of exacerbating relations between states," emphasized Maj Gen Markelov.

U.S. Steps Up Military Construction

LD1008212189 Moscow TASS in English 2041 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Tokyo August 11 TASS—The United States is stepping up the construction of another military facility in the area of Okinawa, on an island in the south of the Japanese archipelago.

According to the U.S. Marine command in Japan, another airfield for Harrier fighter planes will be put into operation late in September, this year. Building materials and equipment are being brought already to the Iejima Island where the airfield is to be built. A U.S. Army unit was moved there on Wednesday. The new military facility of the Pentagon will be put at the disposal of the U.S. Marine troops.

U.S. Denies Report on New Strategic Aircraft

18070732 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Aug 89 p 9

[Unattributed article: "Against the Deepest Bunkers"]

[Text] **The other day Radio Canada, citing the American newspaper LOS ANGELES TIMES, transmitted the following information:**

"American military authorities are developing a new weapon system which is designed to paralyze the Soviet leadership in the very first hours of a possible conflict. According to the report of the newspaper, plans call for the use of highly technical reconnaissance aircraft capable of flying at a speed four times the speed of sound in order to be able to detect the most important targets in the Soviet Union. In addition, this system envisions the development of weapons capable of destroying the deepest bunkers, and remote control sensors capable of detecting mobile missiles and command posts concealed on Soviet territory." In addition, the LOS ANGELES TIMES asserts that the Bush administration "is now preparing a fundamental change in overall U.S. strategy in the event of waging nuclear war with the Soviet Union."

We asked the U.S. Embassy in Moscow to comment on this information. The embassy's press department acquainted us with the official announcement of M. Fitzwater, the official White House representative on this subject.

He said, in particular, that the general tone of the newspaper article is "incorrect, especially if it is a question of any kinds of changes that are to be put into practice." "We determine our strategic joint operational plan annually. But we have not made, and we do not intend to make, any radical or revolutionary changes in this plan," M. Fitzwater declared.

Thus, the tone of the article is incorrect—the strategy is not changing. But what about the essence of the matter—all of this superpowerful military equipment? We hope that it also is nothing more than a work of fantasy of the author of the article in the LOS ANGELES TIMES, which is reminiscent of the military project of Edward Teller.

U.S. To Increase Military Presence in Japan

LD1408085789 Moscow TASS in English 0845 GMT 14 Aug 89

[Text] Tokyo August 14 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Valeriy Agarkov:

The U.S. Department of Defense has announced plans to send five military units to the Iokota Base, near Tokyo, to establish special communication with the Central Command with a view to increasing the base's combat capabilities.

The newspaper AKAHATA today quotes Japanese peace campaigners as saying that one of the units had already arrived at Iokota from the Clark field base in the Philippines.

Another unit, whose task is to maintain electronic communication with U.S. vital military facilities, is expected to arrive at the base in autumn.

AKAHATA says that the units' arrival at Iokota and the reconstruction of airfield facilities show that the Pentagon assigns a "special role" to the base in its global nuclear strategy.

Andrianov on U.S. Manila Envoy's Comments

LD1108223689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Commentary by Boris Andrianov]

[Text] Nicholas Platt, the U.S. ambassador in Manila, has stated that the United States does not intend to reduce its military presence in the Philippines. In an interview with a local radio station published by the MANILA TIMES newspaper, he refuted rumors that the U.S. military air base at Clark field would be closed. On the contrary, the ambassador noted, work is being done on this military site aimed at ensuring its further exploitation. Here is a "latest news" commentary. Boris Andrianov is at the microphone.

[Andrianov] The statement by the U.S. ambassador in Manila gives grounds to believe that the United States is beginning another series of maneuvers around its Philippine bases. I recall how about 5 months ago, after consultations in Washington with President Bush, the very same Nicholas Platt went back to Manila.

On the results of his meeting with the head of the White House, the U.S. Embassy in the Philippines made a special statement at that time. In particular, it said that the United States had an optimistic view of the possibilities to conclude a new agreement which would ensure its military presence in the Philippines after September 1991 when the agreement on the bases expires. In his interview this time too, Nicholas Platt expressed confidence that Washington and Manila will allegedly manage

to attain agreement and extend the U.S. military presence in the Philippines. We should note that Washington's official spokesmen do not fail to miss an occasion to stress very insistently the U.S. interest in the further use of its military sites stationed in the Philippines. It is understandable why. After all, they are of great value to the Pentagon. It gives them an essential place in the implementation of its strategic plans. What is more, the Philippine complex of the United States enables Washington to keep its sights on and put pressure on countries in the Asian-Pacific region. To preserve this state of affairs at whatever cost is precisely what the politicians across the ocean are striving to achieve. Furthermore, over the last few months they have doggedly tried to ensure that the government of Corazon Aquino agrees to start negotiations about the new agreement even this year, bearing in mind, of course, that at issue should be only the extention of the U.S. military presence in the Philippines.

Why has Washington been so hasty in this regard, although the term of agreement will expire in more than 2 years? We must assume that the U.S. Administration is alarmed about the mood of the Philippine public which opposes retention of the U.S. military bases in that country. Many Filipinos regard these sites as the main obstacle on the path to true independence and as a serious threat to national security. The thing is that the United States does not confirm—nor in fact deny—that the Pentagon bases have nuclear weapons. This has led Senator Aquilino Pimentel to state that his country must be free of the stifling embrace of the United States. The government of Corazon Aquino strives to adhere to the country's Constitution in this matter where it says that the Philippines will conduct a policy of freedom from nuclear weapons on its territory, in accordance with its national interests. As for the decision on the problem about the future of the U.S. military sites, the Philippine leaders leave the matter open. They do not give any promises on this score, keeping their right to choose in this matter. This is why Washington is putting diplomatic pressure on Manila.

Talks To Resume on Grain Agreement With U.S.

PM1108123189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Unattributed report under the rubric "TASS, REUTER, UPI Reports": "Forthcoming Grain Purchase Talks"]

[Text] Official U.S. sources have announced that U.S. and USSR representatives are due to resume talks on the conclusion of a new long-term grain purchase agreement in Moscow in early December this year. The talks were broken off last year.

On that occasion there was no success in concluding a new grain purchase agreement to cover the 5-year plan period, and therefore the agreement signed in 1983 had to be extended through 1990. Under the terms of the agreement currently in force, the Soviet Union must purchase every year at least 4 million tonnes of wheat, an equal quantity of corn, and an additional 1 million tonnes of various grains.

CNN To Begin Broadcasting in Moscow

LD1108130889 Moscow TASS in English 0941 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 11 TASS—The U.S.-based Cable News Network (CNN) TV channel will be received at the Soviet capital's new Savoy Hotel from next week and at all other Moscow hotels, embassies and business missions from next year.

In addition, ordinary Muscovites will be able to watch the programs by subscription in 1990, later to be joined by people elsewhere in the USSR if all goes according to plan.

"This will certainly broaden our picture of the world," Mikhail Nenashev, chief of the Soviet Gosteleradio Agency handling radio and TV broadcasting, told TASS.

He said the new scheme is further evidence that glasnost and openness are gaining ground in the Soviet Union.

Gosteleradio has cooperated with CNN for many years, Nenashev said. They jointly produced a six-part miniseries on the Soviet Union, which was shown both here and in the United States.

Soviet TV journalists and their CNN colleagues are now working on further joint productions.

China

Mulatov on Soviet, Chinese Reforms, Role of Party

OW1208142989 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 1 Aug 89

[Commentary by station observer Mulatov]

[Text] According to a report from Beijing, a meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee last week adopted two important resolutions. The resolutions considered current social problems, people's morale, and the characteristics of the current situation at home. They touched on questions that the people are concerned about and that should be solved as soon as possible. They also touched on new tasks in propaganda and ideological work. Materials published in Chinese newspapers and journals show that, at the present stage, the CPC attaches particular importance to waging a struggle against embezzlement and bribe-taking, upholding the four cardinal priciples, and overcoming unfair distribution. The questions that China is trying to solve are similar to those that the Soviet Union wants to solve in the course of reform. The most important one is how to ensure the party's effective leading role as a political vanguard in the society under the conditions of

economic and other reforms. Because each country has its own distinguished characteristics, our two countries are different from each other to a great degree in how the economic and political reforms are progressing. As everyone knows, political reform is far ahead of economic reform in the Soviet Union, while the reverse is true in China. However, it is equally imperative for both countries to solve the question concerning their party's role and position in the socialist democratic system. How is the Soviet Union solving this question? Please listen to a short commentary by our station observer Mulatov:

At a recent meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Gorbachev delivered a report on the party's work under the conditions of reforms. He emphasized in the report that the entire course of events has brought to the fore the urgent problems concerning the party's activities at the present stage of reform. Comrade Gorbachev affirmed that these problems are the focal point of debate not only in the party but also in the whole society. Because the Soviet Union is carrying out a reform of its political structure, it is necessary to relearn the functions and role of the party in the society, and to accurately fix the party's position in the socialist democratic system. The decisive factor in this regard is that the CPSU is the ruling party representing the interest of the working class, particularly the worker's class, and it unites with the most progressive forces in the society to form a people's political vanguard.

Comrade Gorbachev pointed out in the report: It is clear to us that in a democratic society the party should be an expression of the highest and the most consistent form of democracy, and it should set an example of democratic development for the entire society. And to achieve this it must resolutely free itself once and for all from the deformations caused by the personality cult and the period of stagnation.

To reform the party work and to create a new mechanism of collaboration between the party and the soviets and all other state organs is the basic way to solve the question of how to separate the party from the government. As everyone knows, China also is facing such a question in its political reform. The Soviet Union believes that the practice of the party commanding the soviets already is outmoded and no longer acceptable.

Comrade Gorbachev said in the report that the party should not command the state and economic organs and mass organizations. As the political vanguard, the major functions of the party are to formulate political strategy and to develop and enrich socialist ideology constantly. The socialist political system and fundamental reforms are inconceivable without the party's active participation. The new practice should be to turn over the powers and management duties to the soviets. The party implements its policies through the state organs and through the party members working there. The new mechanism with which the party and the soviets coordinate their actions is still at an initial stage, and there are still many unknowns on the road ahead.

CPC Rejects Policy on Intelligentsia

PM1108143589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Aug 89 p 6

[TASS report: "Attitude to Intelligentsia Will Not Change"]

[Text] Beijing, 4 Aug—Recently, particularly since the suppression of the antigovernment revolt, the question of the policy toward the intelligentsia has become one of the most "topical," RENMIN RIBAO, organ of the CPC Central Committee, writes today. One problem worries many people: Will the CPC change its policy? People have begun conjecturing that on this plane the "leftist" methods and ways of working with the intelligentsia and the excesses that occurred in the past might be allowed to occur again.

It is essential to clearly state, the newspaper observes, that the policy regarding the intelligentsia will not be changed.

In carrying out socialist modernization China has great need of highly skilled specialists in all sectors of the national economy. The intelligentsia's role and significance are constantly growing.

However, RENMIN RIBAO points out, far from every representative of the intelligentsia correctly understands his place and role in the course of socialist building. Some of the intelligentsia took part in the recent disorders and antigovernment revolt. Those mistakes are the result and consequence of their falling under the influence of the ideas of "bourgeois liberalization." Therefore the representatives of the intelligentsia must draw the most serious lessons from all that has happened and provide a principled assessment of their actions.

PRC Ship Docks in Khabarovsk; Official Views Trade

OW1208114589 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 5 Aug 89

[Text] The Chinese ship (Longhuo) has arrived at the river port of Khabarovsk in the Soviet Union. This marks the beginning of the implementation of the treaty between the Amur and the Heilongjiang Navigation Bureaus. These two bureaus have opened their inland waterways to foreign ships. (Kepton), our reporter based in the Far East, filed a report on the arrival of the (Longhuo) in Khabarovsk:

Pioneers always have encountered more difficulties than those who follow them. The first question I asked Comrade (Zhong Yuedong), captain of (Longhuo), was: How was the navigation in Khabarovsk?

[Begin (Zhong) recording] Our travel has been very smooth. We welcome the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations and the increasing border trade and closer contacts between Heilongjiang and the Amur border region. We hope to promote friendship between the people of the two countries through these contacts. This is my first trip to Khabarovsk City. We toured its downtown area and visited the major shops and streets there yesterday. Khabarovsk City has its distinctive features. Although it is a business city, lawns and trees can be seen here and there, and the people are very nice. [end recording]

One wonders why this Chinese ship, which sailed for more than 500 km along the river separating the two countries, did not carry any cargo to Khabarovsk. This is a direct economic loss. Comrade (Zhong) agreed, but expressed his belief that one should not give priority to economic results when embarking on a new undertaking. There are more important points to consider.

[Begin (Zhong) recording] During the current visit, we should not concern ourselves solely with the economic benefits, but should realize the active role this visit will have in expanding the friendship between the people of Jiamusi and Khabarovsk City, and in promoting the development of border trade. Friendship exists in all fields, one of which is economic. As a unit of transportation, we also want to get more things done with less money. Of course, the best arrangement would be to depart Jiamusi fully loaded with cargo, arrive in Khabarovsk Port, unload the cargo, load the ship with other cargo and return to Jiamusi. This would be an ideal arrangement. Since bilateral and local trade has started only recently, we expect to make greater progress. [end recording]

Which river ports are both sides interested in? How will this benefit river transportation workers and their many customers? This station reporter asked (Lyafer), chief of the Section of Foreign Economic Relations under the Amur River Navigation Bureau, to answer these questions.

[(Lyafer) is heard for a few seconds speaking in Russian] He said: We have held prolonged talks regarding the navigation of Soviet and Chinese ships on each other's inland rivers. This led to the opening, in 1989, of the ports of Fujin, Jiamusi, and Harbin on Songhuajiang, and of the ports of Poyarkovo, Khabarovsk, and Komsomolsk-na-Amure on the Amur River. We plan to ship 30,000 metric tons of coal to China this year, and already have sent shiploads of chemical fertilizer and timber to Chinese river ports. All of these ports are maintaining regular contacts. Other ports on Songhuajiang and the Amur River will be opened in the future. We also plan to open a ferry service between Blagoveshchensk and Heihe, which will increase the volume of transportation substantially. During the current period, we plan to ship 100,000 metric tons of freight. We hope the shipping volume will increase during the next period of navigation. This is a very realistic hope because of our growing contacts and the increasing number of our customers. This also is possible because Soviet enterprises in the Far East now have the power to establish business ties with China. The Amur River Navigation Bureau is one example. Our delegations of river navigation workers are visiting Harbin and other cities on a frequent basis. They are currently working on the issue of repairing Soviet ships in China and discussing trading without the use of foreign exchange. In a word, we have maintained very close contacts.

We also should note that river navigation workers operating on international routes have encountered difficulties. For example, (Longhuo) could have loaded cargo and returned home sooner. However, much time was wasted in negotiating with its own navigation bureau. Captains of Amur ships have encountered a different problem: They have been given too much protection while in Chinese territorial waters. But I share (Lyafer's) view about these temporary difficulties because he has good intentions and is sincere and farsighted.

(Lyafer) said: I hope that the next period of navigation will be more interesting, that freight volume will increase, and that the berthing periods of ships will be shortened. We will become more experienced in receiving Chinese ships at our ports, and the Chinese comrades will become more experienced in receiving our ships at their ports. We will then trust each other more. We should realize that trust and friendship will guarantee today's successful cooperation.

Firms Sign Contracts at Beijing Exposition

OW1208152289 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 30 Jul 89

[Excerpts] The search for business partners is an indication that international industrial circles want to establish new mutually beneficial cooperative relations. The first Beijing international exposition held in Beijing from 14 to 23 July played a positive role in promoting this process. The following is a report by our reporter (Glejeyev) on the results of Soviet participation in the exposition:

It was the first time that such a large-scale international exposition had been held in China. The organizers of the exposition, particularly the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, did a great deal of work to make the exposition a success. The slogan of the exposition was: seeking business partners. The slogan aroused interest among the industrialists of more than 20 countries and regions who shipped their products to the exposition. The Soviet exhibition hall was the largest of all there.

China has become greatly interested in developing economic cooperation and trade with the Soviet Union since relations between the two countries were normalized. Twenty-five Soviet foreign trade companies and enterprises that have obtained decision-making power in foreign trade in the course of the Soviet Union's economic reform displayed their samples of industrial equipment, modern technologies, latest instruments, and consumer goods at the Beijing international exposition. Great prospects have opened up for the Soviet Union to export those products to China in the course of Soviet-Chinese cooperation. The visitors to the exposition showed great interest in the approximately 1,100 Soviet products that were on display there. [passage omitted]

How did the first Beijing international exposition benefit the Soviet foreign trade companies that participated in it? After the close of the exposition, I interviewed Comrade (Jilianova), an expert from the Soviet trade center.

(Jilianova) said: A number of contracts were signed during the exposition. They include contracts on the sale of some Soviet products that were on display at the exposition, contracts on the supply of commodities and equipment in accordance with the 1989 Soviet-Chinese trade protocol, contracts on the export of commodities and equipment not included in the trade protocol, and contracts on the exchange of goods. The contracts signed with Chinese companies during the exposition total approximately 30 million Swiss francs.

Asked whether Chinese companies were interested in the products of some Soviet foreign trade companies, Comrade (Jilianova) said: Before the Beijing international exposition had opened officially, the All-Union International Book Corporation already had reached agreements with relevant Chinese business partners on the sale of all of its products on display there. The All-Union Industrial Raw Materials Import-Export Company signed a large contract with a Chinese department concerned with the export of ferrous metallurgical products to China. The All-Union Electronics Products Corporation signed a contract on the export of electric cables to China. Some Chinese companies showed great interest in the heavy trucks and cars manufactured by the (Tamo) automobile plant. They purchased the four heavy trucks which were displayed at the exposition. In addition, Soviet and Chinese departments concerned have signed contracts on the use of the aerial photos which the All-Union Maps Corporation had displayed at the exposition.

Comrade (Jilianova) said: These are the preliminary results. We have sent some suggestions to Moscow on cooperation that many Chinese companies had put forward, including both central-level and provincial-level companies. Their suggestions will be studied seriously and suitable business partners for them will be sought in the Soviet Union.

Comrade (Jilianova) added: I believe that by then the results of our participation in the first Beijing international exposition will greatly exceed the present total of some 30 million Swiss francs.

Soviet Union Helps Xinjiang Build Railway
OW1208092289 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 30 Jul 89

[From "Along the Road of Friendship and Cooperation" program]

[Text] Rocks and grits were everywhere. This was what travellers saw in Beijing, where the ancient silk road ran through. Even camels had a difficult time travelling there, not to mention human beings. Nonetheless, many camel caravans passed through it. Nowadays automobiles have replaced the camels. In the face of the growing volume of trade between China and the Soviet Union and the increasing quantities of materials flowing back and forth between the two countries, however, automobile caravans can no longer transport all of the goods. Changes will soon again take place as railways will come to the aid of the automobile. Talks are now being conducted between delegations of Soviet and Chinese railway workers in both Beijing and Urumqi. They are discussing a rail link between Druzhba on their joint border and Alataw Shankou. For more details, please listen to a short report by our station observer Sergeyev.

The Soviet and Chinese Governments signed an agreement in February 1988 under which the Soviet Union would provide China with a loan in the form of commodities to help the Chinese build a railway linking (Wusu) to Alataw Shankou. In accordance with the agreement, the Soviet Union supplied China with marketable commodities, proceeds from the sale of which was used to build the railway. Some 6 months have passed since the agreement was signed. The question is: How far has the construction of the railway proceeded?

The railway starts in Urumqi, the capital of Xinjiang, and will be 457 km long when completed. China believes the railway is very important because it has both domestic and international significance. The railway ends at Druzhba station at Alataw Shankou on the Soviet-Chinese border. The laying of the railway has been divided into two stages. In the first stage, which ended in September 1987, tracks were laid from Urumqi to (Wusu), a distance of 236 km. This section of the railway is now open to traffic.

To illustrate the difficulties involved in laying this section of the railway, let me give you some figures. In mountainous areas 94 bridges and 616 tunnels were constructed, along with numerous auxiliary facilities. Final work is underway on the section, including the construction of 21 train stations, each capable of accommodating trains of 40 cars each. At the end of last year, work began on the 221 km section from (Wusu) to Alataw Shankou, which is expected to be completed by

1991. There will be 21 train stations along this section, too, including the largest one on the Soviet-Chinese border. As Soviet and Chinese railways are different in terms of width, facilities for changing train wheels also have to be built.

In their meetings, the delegations of the Soviet and Chinese railway workers will sum up this year's results, map out work plans for the future, and decide on the connecting point for Soviet and Chinese railways. The experts of the designing institute under the Chinese Ministry of Railways, in designing the railway, took into consideration the complicated climatic and topographic conditions in northern Xinjiang and, most importantly, the impact the railway may have on the local economy located along the track.

The railway's annual transport capacity is estimated at 4 million metric tons. Once the whole line is open to traffic, the railway will not only markedly boost the contact between northern Xinjiang and other parts of China, but also increase the contact between China on the one hand and the Soviet Union and Europe on the other. The expansion in economic and technological exchanges among various provinces in China as well as brisk international contacts will enable China to make full use of Xinjiang's natural resources to accelerate its modernization and to fulfill the economic development plan for northwest China.

Chinese Amity Group Praises Ties, Ends Visit

OW1208083289 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 1 Aug 89

[Text] A delegation from the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries and the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association wound up its visit to the Soviet Union. During the 2-week visit, the Chinese guests visited the Lithuanian, Georgian, and Ukrainian SSR's [Soviet Socialist Republic's]. They familiarized themselves with the life of the Soviet people and the progress of reforms in the Soviet Union.

On 31 July, the USSR Union of Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries and the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society invited the Chinese guests to a breakfast in Moscow. Present at the breakfast were (Shivesova), deputy chairman of the presidium of the USSR Union of Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries; Academician Tikhvinskiy, chairman of the central board of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society; and (Alshipov), general advisor to the Soviet assistance group to China in the 1950's and 1960's.

The hosts and guests proposed toasts to each other. Academician Tikhvinskiy said to the Chinese delegation:

[Begin recording in Russian fading into Mandarin translation] Your visit takes place at a time when the relations between our two countries are becoming closer with each passing day. I believe that during your stay here you already must have experienced the friendly feelings of the Soviet people towards our neighbors, the great Chinese people. Upon your return home, please convey our cordial regards to your people. We wish the Chinese people success and prosperity.

Comrade (Ma Lie), head of the Chinese delegation and member of the board of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries, said in his speech:

[Begin recording] It has been 2 weeks since this delegation from the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries and the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association arrived in your country. Our Soviet friends here have accorded us a warm welcome and hospitality. We feel at home here. We returned to Moscow yesterday after having visited several Soviet socialist republics. We have just met with the deputy chairman in charge of the Foreign Affairs Committee at the Supreme Soviet this morning. We had a very lively and friendly discussion with him.

Our stay in the Soviet Union has been very brief, but very, very pleasant. We visited some industrial and agricultural enterprises, cultural facilities, and places of historic interest and scenic beauty. Just as I told Comrade Tikhvinskiy the day after I had arrived in Moscow, most of our comrades in the delegation are visiting the Soviet Union for the first time. We have been deeply impressed by the Soviet people's socialist construction and the reforms in the Soviet Union. All of us now know more about the Soviet Union. After we return home, we will tell our people more about Sino-Soviet friendship. Soviet comrades, please rest assured that the cause of Sino-Soviet friendship is in the hands of our most reliable comrades. On behalf of this delegation, I would like to express my thanks to our hosts and to our Soviet comrades present for according us lavish hospitality. Our 2-week stay here was very pleasant. We hate to bid farewell to you and feel sorry that we have to leave. [end recording]

PRC Nuclear Power Experts Visit Dubna

OW1208110589 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Prof (Wang Guanchang), a Chinese nuclear power scholar, has arrived in Dubna, known as the city of physicists, situated near Moscow. He previously worked at the Joint Nuclear Research Institute there and was its deputy director from 1956 to 1960. He is accompanied by two other Chinese scholars.

The Chinese guests are acquainting themselves with the work of this research institute and its recent achievements. They will stay in Dubna for 1 week.

Northeast Asia

Kaifu Notes Importance of Peace Treaty With USSR

LD1108173489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] At his first news conference, Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu today set out the main directions of his government's foreign and domestic policy. Japan, he declared, attaches importance to relations with the USSR and would like to conclude a peace treaty with the Soviet Union on the basis of solving the so-called territorial problems. The prime minister said he would welcome a visit to Japan by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

Vladivostok Prepares Economic Exchanges With Asia

OW1108145289

[Editorial Report] Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese at 1226 GMT on 11 August broadcasts, during the "NHK News Today" program, a 14-minute report from Vladivostok, entitled "Revealed Vladivostok."

It depicts efforts of the city to promote economic relations with Japan and the ROK. Over video showing general views of Vladivostok Port and busy quarters of the city, the narrator explains how Vladivostok has changed in the past few years.

The narrator then introduces a new project at a printing company, which imported a Japanese-made multicolor printing machine, preparing for publication of an advertising newspaper.

The mayor of Vladivostok, in an interview, describes the readiness to seek economic relations with the West, including the United States and Japan. He invites foreign companies to invest in the establishment of joint venture companies in Vladivostok.

Video cuts to a view of Vostochnyy Port, describing its ideal location. Only one-third of the facilities at the port has been completed. Thus, the Soviet Union wants, with help from Japan, to complete all the facilities and to activate the economy in the Soviet Far East by promoting trade with Asian nations, according to the narrator.

Video shows the arrival of a delegation from ROK economic circles, led by Hyundai Group's honorary President Chong Chu-Yong.

The annual sail-past of the Soviet Pacific Fleet, held on Navy Day, is shown, depicting warships and amphibious landing vehicles. The narrator concludes by saying that there are many problems yet to be solved before Asian nations can give fully fledged technological aid and economic cooperation to the Vladivostok area.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

U.S. Response to Singapore's Bases Offer Viewed

HK1208063589 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The United States has formally announced that talks on plans to open new U.S. military bases in Singapore are not related to the fate of its military bases in the Philippines. In a press briefing, a State Department spokesman said that plans to extend military presence in Singapore is an attractive proposal in so far as state strategy is concerned.

Washington's clarification follows speculations in Southeast Asia surrounding the announcement of talks between Washington and Singapore on the opening of new U.S. military facilities. However, this is merely a propaganda designed to exert pressure on the general public opinion in the region. The logic behind this scheme is simple: If Singapore is prepared to deploy U.S. military facilities in its territory, it can only mean that the U.S. military proposition is not bad. Hence, the Philippines should not oppose extension of the presence of U.S. military bases on its soil, including the Subic Naval Base and Clark Air Base.

Meanwhile, talks between Washington and Manila are scheduled for this year. With Singapore's willingness to host U.S. military facilities, Washington now has another alternative to remain in the region even if the views of those opposed to retention of U.S. military bases in the Philippines should prevail.

Now, if we will accept the statement of the State Department spokesman who claimed that the United States is really interested in the Singaporean offer regardless of the outcome in the Philippines, does this not show that the United States is really intent on preserving its military presence in the region?

And this is the view seen by some members of ASEAN from the ongoing talks between the United States and Singapore. The establishment of military facilities in Singapore will affect the peace process being initiated in the region and will also have worldwide ramifications. This was the assertion of Ahmad Kamil Jafar, general secretary of the Malaysian foreign ministry [title as heard].

Meanwhile, the presence of military bases in Singapore which is situated in Southeast Asia is contrary to the ASEAN objective of making the region a zone of peace, freedom, neutrality and free from nuclear weapons. This was stated in the editorial of MERDEKA, a respected newspaper in Indonesia. Moreover, MERDEKA warned that an increase in the number of U.S. military bases in the Asia-Pacific region will create an enormous impact that may undermine the strategic balance in the region.

It also stressed that while more efforts are being made toward the dismantling of U.S. military bases in the Philippines, Singapore is going against global endeavours to ease tensions created by the military bases and arms race.

We may also add that behind such efforts to ease tension is the Soviet Union which has called for the withdrawal of military bases and presence in foreign territories. In his famous speech at Krasnoyarsk, USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev outlined concrete proposals for the Soviet Union and the United States to abandon their respective military bases in Southeast Asia.

During the recent visit to Moscow by Philippine Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus, the Soviet Union expressed a hope that tension in the region will dissipate, creating an atmosphere where military facilities will no longer be needed.

Philippine Aid Plan Tied to Bases Issue

HK1408071989 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 12 Aug 89

[Commentary by Vassily Filipov]

[Text] The present government of the Philippines is doing all it can to solve the country's longstanding problem involving its foreign debt. Negotiations between the Philippine Government and foreign banks are going on, and these are [words indistinct]. Last month in Tokyo, several financial programs were discussed, especially the financial assistance to be granted to Manila by several government and financial institutions. The format for this carefully studied program has now been approved. The nations named as donor countries and the international financial institutions have pledged to grant financial aid to Manila amounting to $3.5 billion over a 4-year period. This will be done by means of a system based on a framework of complex measures. The question now posed by international economists is how effective is this financial aid going to be for the Filipinos? Many of the countries and groups pledging financial assistance for the Philippines, in this first year, have already been named; but as is being reported, they are displaying a wait-and-see attitude regarding the program's implementation.

In truth, the financial assistance is still unclear because the conditions have not been clearly set out by the donor groups and countries. As reported by a Japanese newspaper, YOMIURI SHIMBUN, it has not been clearly spelled out whether the financial assistance for the Philippines can be applied to specific projects, especially the Aquino government's agrarian reform program. It is obvious that the original authors of the aid program, the United States and Japan, are not interested in the Philippines' livelihood and social conditions, but in its political stability. According to reports in Japanese newspapers, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's statement referred to the term democracy 10 times, as he cited the financial assistance as being the key to democracy in the Philippines.

On the part of the Japanese foreign minister [break in transmission] it has a political meaning. This refers to Japan's support for the true democratization of the Philippines. Given this situation, it is right to ask whether the authors of this plan are placing the right emphasis on the country's political problems. Many other vexing problems are involved in this financial assistance for the Philippines [break in transmission] ways in which the donor countries can decide on how much to contribute to the aid program. Obviously their responsibilities remain unclear. But while Japan and America have cited figures, these are still only contributions which do not mirror the true amount. The concrete way in which financial aid will be granted is the most important aspect for the Philippines. An official announcement from Manila says that favorable credit terms, long-term investments in various aspects of the economy, and the supply of new techniques and technology are being sought.

Philippine President Corazon Aquino expressed hopes that her country will receive the funds to be allocated as a result of the financial discussions and that trade relations with the donor countries can be enhanced. In this connecton, the Aquino government must face up to the fact that the conditions contained in this financial assistance program could have negative effects on the country's economy. Some of these involve plans for the liberalization of imports, tax-free measures on profits from foreign companies, and other similar such laws. According to an American banker interviewed in the Philippines, the chance of the Philippines' obtaining the financial assistance promised by the donor countries rests on whether the government abides by the conditions set forth by the International Monetary Fund. Obviously the IMF's conditions are such that they compromise the freedom of a country requiring assistance. We do not need a prophet to tell us that within 5 years, the Philippines' $28-billion foreign debt will rise. Foreign funds invested in the Philippines do not help the country. How, then, can the Philippines cope with its growing debt? Is it not right that some of that financial assistance should be used by the Philippines to pay its present debt? Many other matters which could have a negative effect on the Philippines' future must be faced. President Aquino has often said that there is no connection between the financial assistance and the American military bases in the Philippines, but Washington says otherwise. According to the international news agency UPI, an American congressman insists that the financial assistance be made conditional on the retention of the two military bases in the Philippines, Subic Naval Base and Clark Air Base, whose leases expire in 1991. Last April, the U.S. House of Representatives Subcommittee on Asia-Pacific Affairs issued a formal report stating that the financial aid promised to the Philippines was tied to

the retention of the military bases. At the moment, such maneuvers to ensure the bases' retention are continuing. Hence, with these conditions now revealed, the Philippines is obviously in a weak position to deal with those holding the financial reins.

Hun Sen 'Optimistic' on Cambodian Prospects

PM1008143189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Aug 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Hun Sen's Statement"]

[Text] Phnom Penh, 7 Aug—The convening of the international conference on Cambodia was the result of the constructive policy of the participating states, Hun Sen, member of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Cambodian foreign minister, said on his return here following the completion of the first phase of the conference, SPK reports. The Cambodian leader expressed an optimistic opinion of the prospects for settling the conflict while voicing concern at potential "Khmer Rouge" attempts to undermine the process of seeking a settlement.

Touching on the international conference's decision to send a UN group to Cambodia to study the situation on the spot, Hun Sen pointed out that the Cambodian side is doing everything in its power to ensure that this mission can fully perform its task and provide the international conference with all the requisite information.

Heng Samrin Views Cambodia Talks

BK1308061089 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 12 Aug 89

[Report on comments by Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and chairman of the State of Cambodia's State Council, on the significance of the Paris international conference while touring the Red October Candy Factory in Moscow—dated 11 August, portions recorded]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

[Correspondent] After looking around the factory, the hosts and the guests chatted. They talked not only about matters related to the production in the factory. All Soviet citizens have always attentively followed the developments regarding the settlement of the so-called Cambodian problem. This is why it is reasonable for the head of the factory, Mrs Galina Bolina, to ask the high-ranking guest: How has the situation in Cambodia developed? How significant is the Paris conference to the Cambodian solution?

In reply to this question, Comrade Heng Samrin said: [Begin Heng Samrin recording] This international conference has not yet done anything to reduce the armed conflict. Although there have been efforts to seek a peaceful solution, still the reactionaries have been attempting to destroy the Cambodian revolution. However, the conference will certainly advance toward reaching some results regarding the international aspect of the solution to the Cambodian problem.

The total withdrawal of the Vietnamese army volunteers will be completed at the end of September. The three reactionary Cambodian groups are mainly launching activities along the border. Since their positions are on Thai soil, they have been able to cross the border to launch activities inside the country. However, while the Paris international conference was going on, inside the country, we could attack and caused quite heavy losses to the positions of the three reactionary Cambodian groups along the Cambodian-Thai border.

Before the Paris international conference was held, the reactionaries tried hard to infiltrate, seize, and establish footings along the border in the Cambodian territory. They seized some positions along the border before the Paris conference was held. But, while the conference was going on, we, the Cambodian Armed Forces, attacked and swept them out of all the positions they set up along the border inside the Cambodian territory. However, they still have some small groups of forces hiding in the jungle. These bandit groups have continued to launch sabotage activities inside the country.

In the past, they received aid from the outsiders, that is China and the United States. Particularly, the Khmer Rouge received aid from China. However, the aid could be dispatched to them only on Thai soil. China has stressed that if Vietnam withdraws all troops from Cambodia, China will stop its aid. The international conference will decide on how to supervise the troop withdrawal, the cessation of foreign aid, and the ceasefire. That will be decided by the Paris conference. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Hopes for Settlement Viewed

OW1108050089 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Report by station reporter Marchinenko from Paris; from the "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] According to a reporter, the international conference on Cambodia is currently discussing specific methods for resolving the Cambodian issue. The conference has established three working committees, an international supervisory committee, a committee to ensure Cambodia's neutrality, and a committee for economic restoration and refugee affairs.

The discussions of the foreign ministers of various countries on the external factors of the dispute show that their positions are close and basically unanimous. They

include preventing civil wars from occurring, and the Pol Pot regime from regaining power after troop withdrawal by Vietnam. In addition, they include the formulation of measures to prevent foreign countries from providing military aid to the feuding Cambodian factions.

It is obvious that the Paris conference will be able to guarantee Cambodia's independence, neutrality, and nonaligned status, and draw up the effective international mechanisms for supervising the withdrawal of foreign troops and holding elections.

The foreign ministers of France and Indonesia, joint chairmen of the international conference on Cambodia, stated that, after the leaders of the delegations from various countries leave Paris, the coordination committee under their leadership will propose the task of formulating the draft agreement for peaceful settlement of the Cambodian issue. This draft will be completed by 28 August. The two conference chairmen also stated that a UN team will be dispatched to Cambodia to conduct on-the-spot investigation.

The authorities in Phnom Penh have indicated their willingness to limit the functions of the current government in daily socioeconomic affairs, and to maintain the rule of law so that the supreme leading commission can resolve all problems related to elections.

All this is at odds with the Khmer Rouge's attitude. Local newspapers have pointed out that this is currently the most serious obstacle blocking a settlement of the Cambodian issue.

Can the Paris conference bring peace to Cambodia? I believe it is possible. No matter what happens, the commencement of the Paris international conference has brought hope to everyone.

Laos's Kaysone Phomvihan Arrives for Vacation

LD1008213589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] At the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the Central Committe of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, chairman of that country's Council of Ministers, arrived in the Soviet Union on 10 August for a vacation.

Burma Situation, Communist Influence Noted

BK1208133989 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 12 Aug 89

["Extracts" of article from SOVIET NEWS WEEKLY]

[Text] Troops at every road junction in Yangon [Rangoon] keep watch in every direction, and at night the city becomes lifeless with night curfew in force. Meanwhile, the national economy continues to face (?serious) difficulties as before. The military leaders had hoped that once the door was opened to foreign investment, the economic situation could be corrected. However, the Western European countries have imposed an economic boycott on Myanmar [Burma] for human rights violations. Although Japan, China, and four newly industrialized countries of Asia are interested in investing in Myanmar, they are facing problems because of incomplete laws and bureaucratic obstacles.

One should note, however, the fishing concessions in Myanmar waters received by Thailand, Singapore, and South Korea. The border trade with China is also thriving. Thailand, which has banned extraction of teak from its own territory, is prepared to buy teak from Myanmar. Daewoo Company of South Korea has even opened a department store in Yangon, which is filled with Yangon residents who have come to look at the latest computers, television sets, and radios on display. The prices of most of these goods are beyond the reach of most of the people.

Astonishingly, one of the reasons [for current economic problems] is the granting of salary increases. The military government had hoped that their prestige among the people would soar if they gave increased salaries. Although the pay increase is received by public servants, who constitute only a small minority of the people, it had immediate impact on the country's inflation. By July, the price of rice had increased by 8 times compared to previous years. Transportation costs rose by 5 to 10 times, with the price of black-market petrol increasing by 20 times, in some places 40 times.

It must by pointed out here that lately the military government had drawn up a series of measures to bring relief to the poorest sector of the public. It made arrangements to sell goods to these people at special prices, and foodstuffs stored for the Defense Services are sold through special stores to the poor people. One of the veteran members of Myanmar's independence struggle expressed his concern to a journalist from NEW TIME magazine that deferring a solution to the country's pressing economic problems could soon bring tragic consequences.

When it first came to power, the military government pledged to remain neutral in the matters of establishment of political parties and preparations for holding multiparty general elections. What happened in reality? Due to the easy process for registration of parties and granting of special privileges, the number of new political parties proliferated. However, it can be said there are two well-known parties among them—the National League for Democracy [NLD], led by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi; and the National Unity Party [NUP].

It is a well-known fact that while the NLD stands for liberal democracy, the NUP inherits the Burma Socialist Program Party. Military personnel are now prohibited from joining political parties. However, it is known to all that the leadership of the NUP has close personal ties with the leadership of the Defense Services. Veteran

politicians such as U Nu and Thakin Chit Maung have established their own parties, and there are also parties established along social lines as well as youth parties.

While the political programs announced by the political parties are in no way clear and definite, basically they call for human rights and economic freedom. Some of them have similar political programs. It appears that the military government and the opposition are speaking two different languages. While the one side is calling for democracy and rights, the other side is saying: These are being promised, just wait and see, but observe rules and regulations in the meantime.

The official media inside Myanmar have been saying that the Western countries are responsible for all the problems in the country. We have heard of accusations against foreign radio stations. Now that foreign assistance is urgently needed, a new direction can be detected in the government propaganda.

In early August, Brigadier General Khin Nyunt held a surprise news conference in which he implied that it was not the economic crisis or VOA broadcasts that led to last year's mass uprising; rather, it was the subversive acts of the communists. He categorically stated that the underground Burma Communist Party [BCP] elements are secretly pulling the strings behind the opposition. It appears they have calculated that they may have better prospects for receiving loans from the West if they step up anti-communist propaganda.

While it cannot be said that the underground BCP elements are persons without blemish, the BCP has faced various plights during its course of struggle for 40 years. However, they are not the ones who have created the crisis in the country. The Soviet weekly concluded by saying that, in reality, no country has ever solved problems by blaming the communists.

Near East & South Asia

Soviet MIAs, POWs in Afganistan Discussed

Supreme Soviet Discusses Action

LD1108173689 Moscow TASS in English 1727 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 11 TASS—Possible additional action to locate and help bring back home Soviet servicemen taken prisoner or missing in Afghanistan was discussed today by the Soviet parliament, the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Participating in the discussion were Chairman of the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet Yevgeniy Primakov, members of parliamentary committees on international affairs and a group of people's deputies of the USSR.

Discussion touched, among other things, upon advisability of a joint mission to Afghanistan and Pakistan of Soviet and American parliamentarians. Participants exchanged opinions on a number of international legal aspects of the problem and favoured pooling efforts of all public organizations and government agencies for a prompt release of Soviet prisoners of war kept in captivity by the Afghan opposition.

Visit to U.S. Establishes Contacts

OW1408064989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Studio interview with Professor Igor Pavlovich Blishchenko, vice president of the Soviet Lawyers Association and member of the Coordinating Committee for the Release of Soviet Prisoners of War Captured in Afghanistan; from the "120 Minutes" program presented by Mikhail Solntsev and Alla Uleryanova]

[Text] [Solntsev] Today Professor Blishchenko, vice president of the Soviet Lawyers Association and member of the Coordinating Committee for the Release of Soviet Prisoners of War Captured in Afghanistan, is in our studio. Igor Pavlovich has just returned from the United States. What was the aim of your visit?

[Blishchenko] The matter is that for a year now our committee has been engaged in the serious issue of having our boys who were captured in Afghanistan released. Our visit to the United States was one of our actions aimed at establishing contacts with U.S. congressmen and with representatives of the Afghan opposition who are in Washington and New York, and to start a serious dialogue on the release of our boys from captivity in Afghanistan.

We managed to meet leading congressmen who, I would say, responded to our appeal for help. We also met representatives of the Mujahedin in Washington and during our conversations they set out specific conditions. There will be a meeting in 2 months in Islamabad that I hope will end with positive results. The matter is that unfortunately we still do not have a completely clear idea of where and under what conditions our boys are being held in Afghanistan. The question of how to reach them is not a simple one since a war is underway in Afghanistan, and it is very hard for the International Red Cross committee and our committee to get into regions of military conflict. Therefore we are forced to use all means and opportunities; to use all the possibilities of all organizations, including the International Red Cross Committee.

Our delegation has been to Geneva, and has talked with the president of the International Red Cross Committee. They are giving us substantial aid. Our delegation was in Kabul recently and met with President Najibullah. President Najibullah expressed complete readiness to provide assistance in the release of our boys. The question lies in the fact that among supporters of the opposition

there are people, who, I would say, take the most negative and irreconcilable positions and refuse any talks and do not want to see this issue resolved.

[Solntsev] Talks at any time and nearly always, particularly talks on a problem as difficult as this one, are a compromise. Now, as for the conditions being put forward by representatives of the Afghan opposition, those who are holding our boys captive, are they acceptable or are they completely unacceptable conditions?

[Blishchenko] Well, I could give the following example: They say that children of opposition supporters were forcefully taken to the Soviet Union and are being held under some sort of inhuman conditions. First of all, this is not true, and secondly we have invited U.S. congressmen to visit the Soviet Union to convince themselves that this is not true. It is easy to fulfill this condition since this condition is, generally, an invented one. But there are other conditions that of course require some preparation.

For example, they say that some 40,000 opposition supporters are in the hands of the Afghan Army, and one of the demands consists of turning over these 40,000 opposition supporters to the Mujahedin. But once again, this issue must be solved together with the Afghan government. That is the first point. Secondly, the Afghan government maintains that there are no 40,000 such opposition supporters. In other words, this also requires an analysis, elaboration, and verification.

That is why the Afghan government has agreed to allow U.S. congressmen to visit Kabul so that they could convince themselves of the real situation. In other words, work is underway to verify and study these conditions in order to establish a practical basis for some compromise solution.

[Solntsev] Well, we have to hope that the efforts of your committee and the actions that are being taken in the international arena will be successful as soon as possible.

[Blishchenko] We are trying.

[Solntsev] We hope that your mission will be successful.

[Blishchenko] Thank you.

Najibullah Assesses 6 Months Under Geneva Accords
LD1308174289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 13 Aug 89

[From the "International Panorama" program, presented by Vsevolod Ovchinnikov: interview with Afghan President Najibullah by Afghanistan correspondent Vladimir Fadeyev; date, place not given—recorded; Najibullah speaks in Dari, fading to superimposed Russian translation by Fadeyev]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

[Fadeyev] So, 6 months are behind us. We decided that none other than Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan himself, could make the most objective assessment of this period:

[Najibullah] Six months is not long, although we can sum up some results already. Not a single Soviet remains here, but the Afghan problem, as it is called, has not yet been resolved with the withdrawal of troops. The past 6 months have shown the whole world that Afghanistan and the USSR have unswervingly fulfilled the Geneva accords throughout that period, while the other side—I mean Pakistan and the United States—in fact, have trampled on these accords, thus undermining the prestige of important international documents. All this time, the joint opposition forces—actively supported by the Pakistan militias, units of the regular Pakistan Army, and Saudi mercenaries—have been carrying out the most complete aggression against Afghanistan. Of course, we give them the rebuff they deserve. Thus, the fires of war are blazing in the country, but we think that the road to peace and accord in the country lies not along the path of war, but only through nationwide dialogue and a system of the most broadly based coalition government possible. We are ready for talks with those who feel responsible for the fate of their people. [Video shows Najibullah being interviewed by Fadeyev]

[Fadeyev] [Passage omitted]

Pakistan's Policy on Afghanistan Analyzed
LD1108174789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 11 Aug 89

[From the "International Situation, Questions and Answers" program, presented by All-Union radio commentator Konstantin Patsyuk, with "colleague" Aleksandr Malikov]

[Text] Letters continue to come in to us in which our listeners are somewhat bewildered: How come, they wonder, a civilian government has come into power in Pakistan proclaiming democratic principles while there is no let-up in interference in Afghan affairs? Petr Sergeyevich Tregubov, a Great Patriotic War veteran, who lives in the village of Potapovka in Gomel oblast, asks us to explain in a future program how one can understand such an absence of change in Islamabad's policy with regard to its neighboring country. I had over to my colleague, Aleksandr Malikov.

[Malikov] A declaration of good intentions and their implementation are, you will agree, not quite the same thing. There has been no shortage of declarations about a preferable solution to the Afghan problem by peaceful means on the part of the Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, literally ever since she came into office. But, as you rightly point out, Petr Sergeyevich, up to now there has been no tangible sign of these fine declarations. The question is, who do you blame for this?

Of course, you are not going to bring to a halt straightaway the anti-Afghan express which had for years been gathering breakneck speed under the late President Ziaul Haq by simply applying the political emergency stop-valve. The brake is being counterposed by the powerful forces of influential military circles with whom Benazir Bhutto, like it or not, was forced to form a bloc in order to win the elections. But, as is known, one good turn deserves another, especially when the stability of the new administration, not just now but in the foreseeable future, depends on the support of the military.

So, when she dismissed the head of Pakistani military intelligence, Benazir Bhutto only slightly weakened the chains which tied her hands over the Afghan question. At any rate, notions of a "forced balance" between the two poles of the main forces inside the country have hardly altered the shape of the Afghan policy of the new cabinet, for whom the Geneva agreements remain in no way backed up in practice by international commitments.

There is one other important thing, in my opinion. Islamabad's anti-Afghan policy was not formulated in isolation, and it does not continue in a vacuum. It has always had its external background since it has been to a large extent discharged by Pakistani politicians under Washington's diktat. And since Benazir Bhutto came to power little has changed in this respect. And by no means because the prime minister's personal feelings toward the United States have their roots in her academic years at Harvard, but because without considerable favorable investments it would have been impossible to carry out her preelection promises and to heal the sick national economy, and especially to repeat the Japanese-South Korean phenomenon.

But the taps of such assistance, which could be turned off at any moment, rest in the hands of U.S. state financial institutes and big business, which, as is known, prefer to be on good terms with the government.

True, I have not mentioned here the motives of the so-called "Muslim solidarity" with, incidentally, may be explained, not so much by the general trust of the Afghan rebels and Pakistani ministers, but rather by the solid selfless material aid which is given to Islamabad by Saudi Arabia which lays claim to the role of ideological leader of the Muslim world.

Therefore, to be honest, Petr Sergeyevich, it is difficult for me to envisage fundamental, independent changes in Pakistani policy toward its neighbor without there being a consensus within the influential military circles inside the country and without a go-ahead for a political settlement being signalled by the U.S. Administration to Islamabad.

So, let's and see which practical direction Islamabad's policy will take in the coming months.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Zambians' Offical Visit to USSR Detailed

PM1108093589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Joint Report on Zambian National Assembly Delegation's Stay in USSR"]

[Text] A Zambian National Assembly delegation headed by F.M. Mulikita, speaker of the Assembly, paid an official visit to the Soviet Union 24-31 July at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The Zambian parliamentarians were received in Moscow by A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Meetings and talks were held with R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, and members of USSR Supreme Soviet committees and Supreme Soviet chambers' commissions.

The Zambian parliamentarians laid wreaths at the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier near the Kremlin Wall.

Apart from Moscow the delegation also visited Leningrad. The parliament members laid a wreath at the Piskarevskiy Memorial Cemetery and visited the V.I. Lenin Memorial Museum at the Smolnyy. The guests familiarized themselves with the work of local organs of power during talks at the Leningrad City Soviet Executive Committee, visited industrial and agricultural enterprises, and acquainted themselves with the city's cultural life.

During the talks, which were held in a warm and friendly atmosphere, the Zambian parliamentarians were briefed on the progress of perestroyka in the Soviet Union, the transformation of the political system, and the running of the national economy. The guests were told about the work of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The Zambian people, the delegation members noted, are following with great interest and inspiration the changes taking place in the USSR and express support for Soviet people's efforts to implement the adopted course of renewing all aspects of Soviet society and boosting the people's prosperity.

The guests talked about current issues in Zambia's life, the makeup of the Zambian Parliament, and the activities of its members in accordance with the principles of the one-party system of representative democracy, the division of executive, juridical, and legislative power,

the philosophy of Zambian humanism, and the efforts being made by the National Assembly to resolve the socioeconomic problems facing the country.

During an exchange of opinions on the international situation the Zambian members of parliament made a high assessment of the Soviet Union's efforts aimed at strengthening the atmosphere of trust and cooperation between the peoples and of the improvement of relations with all states. The sides reaffirmed their adherence to the principles of the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and expressed support for efforts to create zones free of nuclear weapons. The need to translate into practice the idea of nuclear-free zones in the Indian Ocean and on the African Continent was noted. The Soviet and Zambian parliamentarians are convinced that, given the further galvanization of the actions of all countries—big and small—and of their peoples and parliaments, real progress along the path of disarmament will make it possible to release considerable funds for development purposes. In conjunction with the fundamental restructuring of international economic relations this would make it possible to resolve many socioeconomic problems in the developing states.

The sides stressed that the process of Namibian decolonization is gaining pace and that it is now important to ensure the conditions for unswerving implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 and the UN plan for Namibia and to firmly keep the process within a political framework.

The meetings and talks reaffirmed the Soviet Union's solidarity with the anti-apartheid movement and the "front-line" states, in whose activity to turn southern Africa into a region of peace and stability Zambia plays a prominent role.

The Zambian guests made a high assessment of the considerable help which the Soviet Government and people have given Zambia in various areas before and after its declaration of independence, and the many years of moral and material support for liberation movements in Africa.

Mutual satisfaction was expressed with the fact that over the last few years considerable progress has been achieved in strengthening relations between the two countries in political, trade, economic, cultural, and other spheres.

The Zambian and Soviet parliamentarians reaffirmed their adherence to the goals of the further expanding cooperation between their parliaments, parliamentary commissions and committees, and exchanges of opinions at sessions of the Interparliamentary Union and its organs.

The sides noted that parliamentary ties between our states make a weighty contribution to the development of mutually advantageous Soviet-Zambian cooperation.

The Zambian parliamentarians invited the USSR Supreme Soviet to send a delegation to Zambia. The invitation was gratefully accepted.

Acting Staff Chief Receives Somali Counterpart

PM1108165989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Aug 89 First Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Conversation Held"]

[Text] A meeting and conversation took place 10 August at the USSR Ministry of Defense between temporarily acting [vremenno ispolnyayushchiy obyazannosti] Chief of General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces Colonel General G.F. Krivosheyev and Chief of General Staff of the Somali Democratic Republic's Armed Forces Brigadier General Maslah Mohamed Siad, who is in the Soviet Union at the head of a military delegation.

More on Somali Visit

EA1208204489 Moscow International Service in Somali 1600 GMT 12 Aug 89

[Text] Soviet and foreign reporters say that Masleh Mohamed Siad, commander of the Somali Armed Forces General Headquarters, has been received at the general headquarters of the Soviet Armed Forces. He was directed to visit the Soviet Union by Muhammad Siad Barre, the Somali Democratic Republic, in connection with general efforts to restructure relations between our two countries.

Commentary Notes 14 Aug UN Meeting on Namibia

MB1308075089 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 12 Aug 89

[Commentary by Vladimir Valentinov on the UN Security Council meeting on Namibia scheduled for 14 August—read by announcer]

[Text] The meeting was necessitated by the concern of the Frontline States over the situation in that country.

They have called on the UN secretary general, Perez de Cuellar, to do everything and force Pretoria to comply with all the provisions of the Security Council's Resolution 435.

The Frontline States and a group of African countries have been [word indistinct] demanded an urgent meeting of the Security Council to achieve that goal.

The situation in Namibia is changing every other day. About a week ago, Perez de Cuellar pointed out that the UN plan on decolonizing Namibia was keeping a steady pace, despite a few controversies. While briefing the Security Council on his trip to Namibia, his first results were hopeful. Perez de Cuellar maintained that the process of Namibia's decolonization had a difficult start, but now there are good prospects for fair elections to be held in Namibia under the UN supervision in November.

Meanwhile, Martti Ahtisaari, his special representative in Namibia, made a similar statement.

So, what is the reason? Probably the reason is that Pretoria has intensified attempts to strengthen its positions in the future free Namibia. It's scarcely possible that Pretoria aims at disrupting the decolonization process altogether, since it would lose very much and gain too little, especially in the international arena.

But, no doubt, it is seeking to preserve as much room as possible in the political, economic, as well as military respects. That is why certain processes, stipulated by Resolution 435, are being still impeded. There are delays in the release of Kaoko residents; the police are intimidating the population; mass media keeps painting SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] black, the most possible winnner at the elections; and, finally, discriminatory laws are still operational.

Debates have been sparked up around the state's sovereignty over Walvis Bay, the South African strategic enclave in Namibia. South Africa has no intention of withdrawing from it. SWAPO, in its turn, maintains that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia.

I would like to remind you that the UN General Assembly more than once adopted resolutions saying Walvis Bay would be part of indepedent Namibia. On its part, the Security Council has been silent on that issue.

There are [word indistinct] an apparent necessity to break that silence. It is also necessary to scrutinize the present situation in Namibia in order to decolonize Namibia in line with the [word indistinct] mapped out and ended by the time fixed.

Commentary Supports South Africa Defiance Campaign
MB1008160489 Moscow in Zulu to Southern Africa 1930 GMT 8 Aug 89

[Vladimir Valentinov commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] In South Africa the defiance campaign against the September elections goes on. Remember that the campaign began on 2 August, and is planned by the mass democratic movement in South Africa. The Congress of South African Trade Unions, COSATU, plays an important role in this. The campaign is required due to the government's insistence on leaving the black majority out of the election. The past week has shown that the campaign is the largest against the government in the past 30 years.

Just why doesn't the white government want to share power with the black majority in the country? Admittedly, the government is now trying to look at things in the region in a better light than it did in past two years. There is evidence for this in its attempt to resolve the Namibian independence issue peacefully. National Party Leader F.W. de Klerk's recent visit to Mozambique also indicates a desire on the part of the South African government to foster peace in the region. But its tackling of internal problems is not in line with its regional aims, hence the need for the defiance campaign by the mass democratic movement. The government is permitting the harrassment and intimidation of those partaking in the campaign, as seen by its reaction to the night prayer service in Athlone, near Cape town.

This government attitude is surprising. Then again, it appears that many whites still believe in the apartheid regime. A University of Witwatersrand race relations study shows a move to the right by many whites, who seem to still believe that a black man is created to be a slave to the whites. Where is the humanity in that? It is obvious that whites derive many benefits by keeping the racist regime in power, and are therefore reluctant to accept change. But this clinging to the past is wrong.

Then there is British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who still resists the concept of comprehensive economic sanctions against the apartheid regime, hence helping to perpetuate its existence.

The white fear of blacks in the country perpetuates erroneous thinking about change. But Zimbabwe, on the very borders of South Africa, is a good example of a society democratically integrated between blacks and whites. So it is possible to have the same situation in South Africa, if everyone is willing to change old habits of thinking.

Eventually, integration will have to take place in South Africa, and this is favored by the international community. In the meantime, the defiance campaign in the country continues to protest the blatantly discriminatory elections in South Africa, despite intimidation by this unrepresentative regime.

South African Resistance Movement Noted
MB0908202489 Moscow in Zulu to Southern Africa 1930 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Vladimir Valentinov commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] South Africa's mass democratic movement wants freedom of speech and an end to discrimination based on color and says they will continue their defiance campaign against September's discriminatory elections in that country.

Preparations for the campaign started some time ago, when it became obvious that the South African Government planned yet another election that discriminated against the oppressed black majority, on 6 September.

There are many people in South Africa who favor democracy and freedom of expression. Many have expressed their stand against discriminatory practices based on the color of one's skin and apartheid. Similar sentiments have come from the country's rulers, from

President Pieter Botha, Foreign Minister Roelof Botha, and Frederick de Klerk, leader of the National Party. Yet, on the question of equitable power-sharing among all, including blacks, it is obvious these leaders were paying mere lip service. It is again obvious to the majority in the mass democratic movement in the country that the promises of these leaders lead nowhere. They only know how to intimidate and harass those in the liberation struggle.

A recent example is the harassment and intimidation of members of organizations in the mass democratic movement that have been active in the defiance campaign in the past week. Among these organizations is the United Democratic Front, UDF. Another campaign supporter is Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party, who said as much in Maputo.

The defiance campaign against the discriminatory elections began at white hospitals in Pretoria, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, and Port Shepston, when over 8,000 black and Indian patients made a beeline for whites only hospitals to demand medical attention. This move aims to end apartheid in the country's hospitals and health centers, says a member of the defiance campaign, Trevor Bonom.

Let us remind you that, in South Africa, there is 1 doctor for every 400 whites, whereas there is 1 doctor to every 9,000 blacks, and there are more hospitals for whites than for blacks.

A leader of the workers' union, D. Naidoo, said at a Johannesburg meeting that apartheid had to be abolished entirely and urged campaigns for genuine democracy be given every support in the country. The campaign has touched the hearts of all peace-loving peoples in South Africa, and support is ever growing.

The renounced leader of the country's church organizations has given his support for the antielection campaign. Among those in favor of the campaign is Nobel Prize winner Archbishop Desmond Tutu; Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches; and Alan Boesak, president of the Dutch Reformed Churches.

South Africa Stance 'Decisive' to Mozambique Peace

EA1008190089 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] The main issue being discussed in southern Africa today is the dialogue in Nairobi between Mozambican churchmen and the Mozambique National Resistance rebels. This meeting is regarded as a prelude to negotiations. Will it create a conducive atmosphere for the ending of the 13-year old Mozambican civil war? This is the burning issue today. Radio Moscow reporter in Maputo, Sergey Shamarin, has filed the following report:

The Nairobi talks are being eagerly watched in Maputo today. The newspaper NOTICIAS, which carried a report on the Nairobi talks, was sold out as early as 8 am yesterday morning. As reported earlier, the Zimbabwean president, Robert Mugabe, and his Kenyan counterpart, Daniel arap Moi, met on 7 August in Nairobi and they discussed ways and means to bring peace to Mozambique. According to diplomatic sources in Maputo, the aim of that meeting was to make preparations for negotiations to end the war.

The Mozambican delegates are now in Nairobi. They have an advisory role during the current talks. The Mozambican minister of transport and communications and, if needed, other delegates will explain unclear issues for Robert Mugabe and Daniel arap Moi. African ambassadors confirm that the meeting between Mozambican religious leaders and representatives of the rebels began on 8 August. The aim of the meeting is to stop the bloodshed and reach a cease-fire agreement.

Diplomats say the negotiations with the rebels on bringing peace to Mozambique will be complex and protracted. It is surely naive to think that the negotiations could reach a positive conclusion quickly. According to reports, 12 points presented by the Mozambican Government will be discussed. However, [words indistinct] the content of these points. The meeting is being held in secret.

In any case, radical changes are expected in Mozambican politics. For these changes to materialize, many conditions have to be met on both sides. One of these conditions is the stance of the South African Government, which is decisive. The South African stance will only be known after the 6 September parliamentary elections there. The campaign for the elections has already started. In this connection, Sergey Shamarin says the following:

On 3 August, South African whites, coloreds, and Indians started voting [as heard]. But the blacks are barred from voting. The mass [word indistinct], the alliance of anti-apartheid organizations, which is calling on coloreds and Indians to boycott the elections, is engaged in opposition activities and uniting all anti-apartheid forces. During a meeting at Capetown University, the political science professor (Wilhelm Vicencio) called on white liberals to boycott the elections. He said that the Parliament is a cover for dictatorial rule in the country. Although the mass democratic movement cannot make all whites boycott the elections, I am sure that many whites will boycott them, said the professor.

However, commentators say that most of the white electorate will vote on 6 September, the election day. During the 1984 election for coloreds and Indians, candidates were the target of beatings and many of them were injured. At that time, less than 20 percent of the coloreds and Indians took part in the elections, our reporter says.

Start of Mozambique Peace Talks Discussed
EA1008183089 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT Aug 89

[Text] Talks have begun in Nairobi between Mozambican church leaders and the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] with the presidents of Kenya and Zimbabwe acting as mediators. We do not yet know the outcome of the talks. Similar talks have been held before, without success. We can say that the present talks have been given a boost by similar talks already held between the Angolan Government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola. The Mozambican president, Joaquim Chissano, has referred to this repeatedly. The Mozambican Government has changed its position on the start of the talks.

Renamo has been supported by the South African Government, and it continues to receive this support. It will be recalled that in 1984, the Governments of Mozambique and South Africa signed the Nkomati Agreement, which has been violated by the South African Government several times. There is a reason that Renamo is preparing for negotiations now. Washington and Pretoria are secretly competing for control of the rebel movement. This has led to contradictions within the movement.

Zimbabwe and Kenya have taken the responsibility of mediating between the Renamo leader, Afonso Dhlakama, and the Mozambican Government. Some observers believe that the non-participation of the U.S. and South Africa will affect the success of the talks. This could be true. Nevertheless, the call made by Pretoria for the convening of an international conference to resolve the Mozambican problem tends to contradict this view. In any case, this is just a first step to resolve the Mozambique problem peacefully. There is nothing more to it at this stage.

Gorbachev Sends Greetings to Mozambique's Chissano
PM1108130989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Aug 89 Second Edition p 1

[Undated message from M. Gorbachev "To Comrade Joaquim Alberto Chissano, Chairman of the Mozambique Liberation Front Party and President of Mozambique"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Chissano!

I congratulate you in connection with your reelection as chairman of the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] Party and as president of Mozambique.

The Fifth Frelimo Party Congress which has just ended demonstrated the determination of the Mozambican people to advance along the path of independence and progress.

I wish success to you, all members of the Frelimo Party, and the friendly Mozambican people.

With comradely greetings,
[Signed] M. Gorbachev.

Delegation Returns From Congolese Party Congress
PM1008134189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Aug 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] The CPSU delegation headed by V.S. Baltrunas, secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, returned to Moscow from Brazzaville 4 August after participating in the work of the Fourth Congolese Labor Party Congress.

Ambassador to Kenya Replaced on Retirement
PM1008123189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Aug 89 Second Edition p 8

[Unattributed "Chronicle" report]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Comrade Vladimir Sergeyevich Kitayev USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Kenya and USSR permanent representative to international organizations in Nairobi.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has released Comrade Vladimir Ivanovich Ostashko from his duties as USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Kenya and permanent USSR representative to international organizations in Nairobi in connection with his retirement.

East Europe

Poland's First Secretary Rakowski Interviewed
LD1108213989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1910 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee, by Yuriy Ulyanov, Moscow television correspondent in Poland; Rakowski speaks in Polish, fading into superimposed Russian translation; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] Comrade First Secretary, the country's economic and socio-political situation is now markedly worse. That is quite obvious. What is the party's role in the context of the socialist parliamentary democracy now in operation?

[Rakowski] First of all, if you are speaking of the party's task now, it is to obtain the support of the majority of society; society must understand the economic processes which are occurring in our country and which have

indeed led to a deterioriation of the situation. What has occurred in Poland—namely, the introduction of market mechanisms in the food economy—has been a historical necessity. During the past 20 years we have repeatedly tried to accomplish this—that is, go over to prices that would act as an incentive for the producer. These attempts were made in 1970, 1976, and 1980; and on each occasion they ended in half-measures, which yielded nothing. Now the essence of the matter is that an overwhelming majority of Polish society has proven unprepared for a transition to a market economy. This is a completely new phenomenon and the party is faced with the complex task of securing support for this line.

There are also many other problems, in particular the party's role in socialist parliamentery democracy. As long as there was no opposition in the Sejm, the party organizations adopted a critical position toward the government. Now after the appearance of an opposition in Poland and the country's parliament, the party must change its attitude toward its deputies in the Sejm. If the latter were to continue to adopt a critical position, as was the case when I was still heading the government and there was no opposition in parliament, a situation would arise where the opposition was criticizing the government and our party was also criticizing it. No government would hold up in such conditions. In my view—and this is the most important thing—it is necessary to create a democratic setup that would ensure the state's normal functioning and would make it possible in practice to give effect to those liberties that it brings to socio-political life. Is the party ready for this? In my view, both yes and no.

We must take into account the fact that for many years the party guided this process in completely different political conditions. At the same time, the majority of its members now support the deep changes that are taking place, although the latter are indeed being accompanied by serious difficulties and social tension, frequently creating a situation that is unacceptable to society. However, it seems to me, that we as the party which began this process, must do everything possible to achieve the planned goals.

[Ulyanov] Perhaps the most acute issue now facing the country is the formation of a new government. What is your attitude in this regard toward Lech Walesa's statement on 7 August in which he was opposed to the new government being formed and headed by Czeslaw Kiszczak, who has been entrusted with this task by the Polish People's Republic Sejm?

[Rawkowski] I regarded this as another major political maneuver by the opposition, which is constantly changing its attitude toward forming a government. At first the opposition representatives said that they were totally uninterested in taking part in the government. Then they did not want to join a grand coalition. Then they declared that they did not have the cadres and that allegedly they were not ready to do so. Now suddenly the question of the opposition forming a government with the participation of only the Peasants Party and the Democratic Party, that is to say the two parties which are in coalition with our party, is unexpectedly raised. You cannot call this anything other than a political diversionary act against the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. It is a matter of leaving the PZPR out of things and forming a government without its participation.

If you want to know my view, I am categorically opposed to such an approach and I would like to remind you that at the roundtable a specific agreement was signed on a coalition. It was envisaged that the coalition would obtain 65 percent of the seats in the new parliament, and that principle became the foundation of the new political system. It was on this basis that the whole new political system was to rest over the next 4 years until new elections are held. But Walesa has in fact struck a blow on this basis and cast doubt on its existence. This move does not stand up to criticism, and at the PZPR Central Committee Politburo meeting we stated that it is a violation of the accord reached. Of course, one may say that politics sometimes throw up unexpected and unforeseen events, and this is true. But we would like the opposition to adopt a sufficiently clear platform in line with the roundtable accords.

[Ulyanov] To develop what you have said, one could say that of late three more or less clear-cut concepts for a new government have come about. The first, put forward by the PZPR, is the creation of a government based on a grand coalition, consisting of PZPR representatives and of all the country's active political forces, including the opposition. The second concept—which you have already mentioned—is solidarity's idea of setting up a government based on the opposition, the Peasants' Party, and the Democratic Party, without the PZPR—that is without the communists, as they put it. Finally, the third possible concept is the creation of a so-called small coalition—a government in which the PZPR, the Peasants' Party, and the Democratic Party are represented. How do you think each of these three options would affect Polish-Soviet relations?

[Rakowski] I think that the previous government, which I headed, attached primary importance to Soviet-Polish relations. The majority in that government consisted of Communists, as well as our allies, who took a caring attitude toward cooperation with the Soviet Union. So that's the situation regarding the previous government's policy, or the so-called small coalition. If such a government were to be set up once again—and I think this is what is going to happen—it would naturally continue that policy, under which Soviet-Polish relations would be typified by mutual understanding, respect, and all those elements that have made up the basis of our relations for the last 35 years.

As for the grand coalition government, of course it would include opposition representatives. But that would not affect Soviet-Polish relations. However, I would like to

add—and I think Soviet television viewers will understand this—that there are people in the opposition who favor the development of Soviet-Polish relations. At the same time, however, we are seeing numerous actions in the opposition camp which cannot by any means be descibed as friendly toward the Soviet Union. I would be in favor of a grand coalition government, together with opposition representatives, doing everything possible to prevent the slightest damage to what constitutes the guarantee of our peaceful coexistence. You have put this question in a somewhat hypothetical manner, however, since things will not go as far as the creation of a grand coalition government, given that the opposition has other plans and does not intend to share responsibility for the country's future with us.

I must say all this has been a disappointment to me, as I had thought that precisely on the basis of the roundtable accord, in a difficult economic situation, and under conditions created by the building of a new democratic order, it would be in the best interests of our society and of the Polish people to work together with the opposition, albeit temporarily, to pull the country out of its economic and political crisis. But that has not proved possible. I hoped that during the next 4 years, until the next elections, our relations would—as I said at the 13th plenum of the PZPR Central Committee—be those of partners; but I have to admit that I turned out to be an idealist.

[Ulyanov] Well, still speaking theoretically: if there were to be a government without the Polish United Workers' Party, what could happen?

[Rakowski] You'll have to put that question to those who want to form a government without our party.

Walesa 'Woos Everyone' in Bid for State Power

PM1108161189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS correspondent M. Malchun dispatch, especially written for IZVESTIYA: "Poland. The Opposition: Divide and Rule"]

[Text] Warsaw—Popular talk in Poland over the last few days has it that "Solidarity" is trying to woo everyone: democrats and peasants, city and countryside, even—as its leaders assert—Polish communists themselves against the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR].

This avalanche of previously unknown feelings was prompted by L. Walesa's official admission on 7 August of his readiness to form Poland's new government. Even members of the opposition camp failed to show identical enthusiasm for this revelation, which is in breach of the "roundtable" gentleman's agreement. For example, Senator Karol Modzelewski, whose voice is heeded in the Citizens' Parliamentary Club, described L. Walesa's behavior as inconsistent and asked in whose name—his own or the trade union's—the "Solidarity" leader did this, and threatened to resign from the club if this kind of diktat continues and parliamentarians become its obedient puppets.

In the morning of 11 August the Polish press put on the front page a sensational news report from Rome where, following a meeting with Pope John Paul II, Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club and L. Walesa's closest adviser, declared in an interview with Italy's news agency ANSA that "Solidarity" is ready to take on the responsibility of running the Polish state. One more step was thus taken in the policy of driving a wedge in the ruling coalition's unity.

Sober and wise politicians—a description which can be applied to Professor Mikolaj Kozakiewicz who is the new marshal of the Polish Sejm—believe that the confusion caused by Walesa's statement does not facilitate the process of forming the new government. But he did not rule out the possibility of talks to create a new coalition with the United Peasants' Party to which he himself belongs.

Peasants are in an especially strong position in Poland today. They dictate to the cities market prices and the quantity of goods on stores' shelves. The already murderous prices for milk and meat leaped up again as of today. The Polish press agency PAP carried an announcement of an 80-percent increase in the cost of communications services by the Polish Post, Telegraph, and Telephone Directorate. Prices for alcoholic beverages went up for the umpteenth time a day earlier. The next round of transportation costs increases is to be expected in public transport.

By the time this issue of the newspaper reaches you, dear readers, a regional warning strike by working people from almost 400 enterprises in the region will have taken place in Gdansk Voivodship. The mass protest action under the leadership of the two trade unions—the National Confederation of Trade Unions and "Solidarity"—and in places even of PZPR committees was caused by the irrepressible avalanche of inflation and rising cost of living for working people following the transition of the country's food complex to market principles as of 1 August. Meanwhile the leaders of the opposition, who advocated this operation as the only correct method of salvation in the prevailing conditions, are now trying to shift all the blame for its consequences on the authorities.

Strikes and labor conflicts with demands for higher wages are gathering pace all over the country, and social tension is mounting with each passing day. In these conditions the opposition felt ready to take power. Not that long ago it gave assurances that it advocated an evolutionary process of development and that its camp had neither a suitable program of economic reforms nor specialists capable of implementing them.

Probably not without appropriate pressure, Poland's President W. Jaruzelski instructed C. Kiszczak on 10 August to look into the legal possibilities for legalizing the Independent Union of Students, which was repeatedly denied legalization due to its unwillingness to give up one of its statute articles granting the right to strike. Meanwhile Walesa, edifying young people, advised them not to be stubborn and to give up their claims to a privilege enjoyed only by trade unions all over the world. An answer to the question about Walesa's motivation for such behavior might be gleaned from reports of growing differences within "Solidarity." The shakiness of the trade union leader's position is confirmed by the fact that on the day he made his statement against C. Kiszczak's government, Szczecin was the venue of the third Polish national meeting of "Solidarity" members in opposition to Walesa, where his leadership style was sharply criticized.

Walesa's Effort To Form Polish Government Viewed
LD1308123589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0530 GMT 13 Aug 89

[Text] The internal political situation in Poland remains tense. It was further exacerbated when, at the beginning of this week, Lech Walesa, leader of the Solidarity trade union, proposed forming a new government without the participation of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party]. Our Warsaw correspondent Vladimir Mikhailenko reports on what has followed:

[Mikhailenko] I will remind you that Lech Walesa, quite officially, through the Polish Press Agency, made a proposal to the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party of Poland to enter a coalition to form a new government. Both of these, also through official channels, through their press spokesmen, politely refused. The Peasant party stated that, in its opinion, only the government of a grand coalition can be an active and effective government, capable of taking the country out of the severe crisis.

Walesa needs support, and needs allies to create a government without communists, without the Polish United Workers' Party, to which it is now customary to ascribe all ills. As is known, many of the ills the party does not deny. But it is also known that it was this party which invited the opposition to a round table to unite the efforts of the nation to wrench the country out of the crisis situation which had arisen.

Assessing the socio-political situation in the country and discussing the problems of forming a new government, the PZPR Central Committee Politburo underlined that the situation urgently demands accelerating the process of forming a well-selected, effective and competent cabinet of ministers, a government of people's consensus. Having rejected the concept of a grand coalition, and having refused to put forward its representatives for the new Council of Ministers, the opposition is hindering this work.

In the Politburo it was stressed that Walesa's announcement is evidence of his intention of breaking up the coalition of the PZPR and its longstanding allies, or, at least, of hindering their political interaction.

In an interview with Soviet Television, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of PZPR Central Committee, once more emphasized that Walesa in fact had struck a blow at the basis of the new political system worked out at the round table and cast doubt on its existence. He underlined that the move is an infringement of the accord and indicates the unwillingness of the opposition to share with us the responsibility for the fate of the country.

Anti-Communist Rallies in Gdansk Reported
LD1408093789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0726 GMT 14 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, 14 August (TASS)—After the Sunday service in the chapel of Saint Bridget in Gdansk, extremists from the underground grouping "fighting solidarity" organized a provocative rally under anti-communist and anti-state slogans. The slogans "Down with the Commune" and "Soviets Go Home" were shouted. Then several hundred people proceeded to the printing house, whose workers are striking in support of demands for a wage increase. There, a meeting was organized where slogans such as "freedom for the Trades Unions" were shouted, and the authorities and "solidarity" leadership were criticized. Along the way, they arranged another rally at the building of the voivodship Polish United Workers Party Committee.

Activists of the so-called "Alternative Society Movement" (Anarchists), who earlier arranged a street show under antisocialist slogans and demands to "destroy the Berlin Wall in the center of Gdansk, joined the demonstration.

Neither of these rallies found support among the town's inhabitants. The forces of law and order did not intervene in the events.

Polish television has reported that unknown vandals defiled the graves of Soviet soldiers on the evening of 12 August at the Sopot cemetery. They overturned 30 of 34 gravestones and tombstones set up in memory of those who gave their lives in battles for the liberation of Poland from the Hitlerite aggressors.

Strikes Continue Throughout Poland
LD1308082989 Moscow TASS in English 0822 GMT 13 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw August 13 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Potemkin:

Despite the beginning in Poland of a traditional four-day religious holiday, strikes continue in a number of regions. Striking labour collectives demand a wage increase because of the growth of food prices.

A strike of workers of an automobile transport enterprise in Krakow which ensures food transportation to shops is also spoiling the recreation of people. To alleviate its consequence, private automobiles were engaged to transport food.

A strike is going on at enterprises of the Polish post, telegraph and telephone firm. Janusz Kaminski, Polish minister of transport, merchant marine and communication, urged labour collectives of post offices and communication enterprises in a number of cities, including Lodz, to immediately resume work. He stressed in his appeal that the continuation of the strike of post workers could result in serious economic and financial losses, as well as the growth of the discontent among the population. In some caes it can also bring about a shortage of the means of subsistence of pensioners.

Printing workers of Gdansk are also on strike. Fresh attempts of the management to start talks with them proved to be futile. The strike is supported by some other enterprises there.

After the fulfiment of the demand on a wage incease, transport workers supplying food to the food stores of Czestochowa and a number of other striking labour collectives resumed work on Saturday, or temporarily suspended the strike.

Polish Human Rights Official Profiled

18070721 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jul 89 p 3

[Article by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA special correspondent L. Kuzmich: "A Law Against Indifference"]

[Text] **A law against indifference has been used increasingly often in Poland since a special office of civil rights ombudsman was established at the Sejm of the People's Republic of Poland.**

For this very reason, Professor of State and Law at the Polish Academy of Sciences Ewa Letowska has left science for 4 years and come to head the new legal institution. She is a civil rights ombudsman at the Sejm of the People's Republic of Poland.

The house on Jasna Street where the Bureau of Civil Rights Ombudsman operates was encased in "scaffolding," and the directional sign "Civil Rights Ombudsman" hung on the freshly planed boards of the fence. An arrow pointed into the yard. My colleague saw this as some kind of symbol: "Poland is in scaffolding, and an arrow points the way to the rule-of-law state."

"Journalists like images, but I do see the truth of this comparison," observed Ewa Letowska. "The present and the future should be built on the basis of a unified legislative system. This is exactly what is happening in Poland. New legal institutions without precedent in the history of Poland have been created. For 3 years now, the Constitutional Tribunal has been in operation, and for 2 years, the institution of civil rights ombudsman. This institution was set up in order to protect the rights and freedoms of citizens. Its task is to establish whether the law has been violated as a result of actions or failures to act on the part of organs called upon to protect and implement the rights of citizens. This institution is also obligated to make sure that the principles of social justice and human coexistence are not violated."

The law on the civil rights ombudsman was passed in July 1987. Ewa Letowska is the only civil rights ombudsman in Poland. Her working bureau consists of lawyers, very experienced specialists in various fields of law, many of them retirees. Including technical employees, there are 68 persons altogether.

Ewa Letowska looks at her appointment to the position as discharging her service responsibilities.

"I do not know why I was exactly the one selected for this position. They were looking for a woman, a professor, and a nonparty member."

Certainly the choice was not random. Ewa Letowska is a young, energetic professor, author of 60 scientific publications and three books on administrative law.

Much has been written about Letowska.

She says: "Exuberant advertising has done me a disservice. People have come to believe that I am omnipotent. You know, they've created an image—the likeness of a mythical creature who comes bearing a magic note and everything works out right away. The name of the new legal institution sounds lofty, whereas the work is mundane and laborious. At times, you leave the office and do not know whether anything has been accomplished or not. I struggled for half a year in order to debunk the myth of my omnipotence."

However, time goes by. Perhaps, the results of work of the new institution are already apparent. The sociopolitical situation in Poland is changing rapidly. Does the status of the ombudsman change in the process? Have guarantees of civil rights been reinforced in these 2 years?

"This period of time is indeed too short in order to draw conclusions," says Mrs Letowska. "The Sejm of the People's Republic of Poland has added an article on the rights ombudsman to the Constitution. Of course, this amounts to enhancing the role of the ombudsman, although from the legal point of view the status has not changed as a result. However, the authority and trust

have definitely increased. The ombudsman has two tasks—this is primarily the everyday resolution of cases which are referred to the bureau. Changing the atmosphere and reinforcing the notion of state and law in human consciousness is a no less important task. The civil rights ombudsman is entitled to demand that the state organs initiate proceedings in civil cases; also, he takes part in any lawsuit; he can take part in trials with the status of a prosecutor; he may submit proposals concerning the promulgation or amendments to legal acts affecting civil rights and freedoms.... The scope of powers is very broad. Therefore, the ombudsman acts in two ways—as an organ of control over the compliance with civil rights by state organs and as a social pressure organ.

Ewa Letowska has sent 22 appeals to the Supreme Court; in 15 cases, the appeals have been granted, two have been turned down, one has not been considered for procedural reasons, and the rest are awaiting consideration. Every year, 8,000 persons ask Ewa Letowska to file appeals with the Supreme Court.

"How do you work with the letters of citizens?"

"The work of ombudsman does not boil down to just responding to letters. We start a file for every case, just as the court would. Letters, complaints, and protests come to me. People demand that I state officially who is right and who is wrong. I have never done that." The issues of civil rights are not considered privately, but rather at a higher level. For example, over 300 of the so-called passport cases were merged into one case. Many people have been proposing that nationality not be indicated in their passport. Ewa Letowska believes that the indication of nationality in passports results in nothing positive, except in discrimination in resolving some issues. These 300 cases have been generalized, and a large document has been drafted and referred to the state organs together with a report and a proposal to abandon such indication.

It is known that problems with confinement in prison facilities exist in any state. At present, the attention of the public and lawyers in our country is focused on this problem. This was not the case before. For 40 years this was not the case in Poland either. Together with specialists, Ewa Letowska has carried out inspections in eight prison facilities based on numerous complaints by inmates. Certainly not all of them were substantiated, but it is important that the inmates knew the complaints would be verified from outside. The minister of justice has authorized such inspections. There have been certain difficulties. Inspectors have arrived unexpected and have drafted a group of physicians, specialists for verifying the complaints about medical services; the Ministry of Health Care has helped in this instance.

As we perceive it, a lawyer is a person who strictly clings to the letter of the law, somewhat like a machine programmed in keeping with a particular pattern. Law creation is characteristic of the work of Ewa Letowska. She has one ironclad rule: If a complaint from a private person does not fall within the scope of her jurisdiction she never refers the letter to other echelons (although by law she may do so).

"This is administrative culture. A person writes to me, and awaits an honest answer from me. It is his right to choose to whom to entrust his problems."

I liked it very much when the professor said: "Even in my reports and reviews, I never indicate the names of those who approach me; I only indicate the persons to whom I address my remarks."

I tried to imagine that great and painstaking work would start when I leave, which I wanted to learn about in the mere 2 hours of our conversation.

"What am I going to do today?" asked Ewa Letowska having read my mind. "I have a list of things I do every day, once a week, and once a month. These are special registers which I compile myself. Every 2 weeks I write short reviews of work. Today is a usual day: Correspondence, 200 letters, and then meetings with specialists. At present, I have six cases pending. One of them is already before the Constitutional Tribunal. I spend 10 hours daily at the bureau; however, I always work in my spare time as well. I start my day early. However, productivity rather than time is the main point at work. I am a very businesslike person," she said being ironic about herself.

"Is it not a pity to give up science for 4 years? Or can your work as ombudsman lead to a new scientific work?"

"I am a good professor, and I can work a little," answered Ewa Letowska. "I know how to do it. However, scientific work is one thing, and the work of ombudsman is another. I am not going to write scientific papers. At present, I do not work in science. I do not trust people who hold 10 positions. You must do one thing, not even well, but in a decent manner. I have left science for 4 years, but I will certainly come back after that. I do not want to make a career. I like my regular scientific work at the Academy of Sciences better. However, I am going to be a professor all my life, and I've been elected the ombudsman for 4 years. I believe in the rule-of-law state very firmly. The creation of such a state is a prerequisite for the normal condition of society,"

"Therefore, work brings you satisfaction?"

"It is hard to say. I would like to feel that I have done all that needs to be done, but in this line of work I will never say that."

"In our country, a legal reform has been underway in the course of perestroyka. What do you think of our problems?"

"I follow the USSR with very much interest. A tremendous endeavor is in store for you. Restructuring human consciousness is a difficult pursuit."

The next morning as I was preparing to go to a session of the Constitutional Tribunal, I turned on the radio. The musical program "Encyclopedia of Voices," which is popular in Poland, was on. It was hosted by Janusz Letowski, professor of administrative law in the Institute of State and Law of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and his wife... Civil Rights Ombudsman Professor Ewa Letowska.

West Europe

Modernization of Nuclear Weapons in FRG Viewed

PM1108172589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Ye. Bovkun report: "'Quiet' Modernization"]

[Text] Bonn—Official documents, whether acts by individual states or intergovernmental decisions, sometimes so bewitch public opinion that the actual policy that is at variance with them is not always noticed.

Perhaps this is why the "quiet" modernization of European nuclear arsenals, which is being unobtrusively prepared amid talk of disarmament within NATO, does not particularly alarm the FRG population at present.

The treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles has come into force, and the fate of intermediate-range missiles has been decided. At the May session in Brussels, representatives of the Atlantic alliance agreed on a unified concept in the disarmament sphere, giving priority to talks on reducing conventional arms. The Vienna meeting inspires definite hopes of success. Perestroyka in the USSR is making it possible to give new substance to the Ostpolitik. And modernization is not an imminent matter (it is planned for 1992) nor as dangerous as the presence of Pershings or, apparently, as inevitable.

This is roughly how some people argue. The public debates on modernization have lost their former sharpness. And I understand those politicians, businessmen, or journalists who talk far more readily with me about the prospects for resolving the "German question" than about the dangers of the upcoming modernization: The "image of the enemy" from the East has finally been destroyed, and it is possible to think of Europe's future common home, in which the Germans may get "a two-room apartment with a shared entrance hall."

It seemed to me that a recent article in the magazine STERN, which described in detail NATO plans to place new nuclear weapons on FRG territory, did not make any special impression on the broad masses. Public circles and the news media also reacted quite limply to a speech by Hermann Scheer, chairman of the disarmament and arms control working group of the Social Democratic Party of Germany's parliamentary faction, who proposed beginning parallel talks on reducing all kinds of nuclear weapons, including British and French systems. In his opinion, not only nuclear powers but also those states on whose territory nuclear weapons are kept must participate in them.

Is this formulation of the issue relevant to the present day? From the viewpoint of German interests it is extremely relevant. It is primarily FRG territory that is needed for the modernization of NATO nuclear systems. This means that the nuclear threat, which, until recently, has been symbolized by the Pershing-2 and SS-20 missiles, will return to the Germans in a new guise.

The number of nuclear warheads in the country in 1992, when all the terms of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles will have been fulfilled, will have been reduced from 4,318 to 3,274. But modernization will nullify the point of this reduction.

Consequently, the Pentagon is in a hurry to raise the "nuclear tolerance" of Germans in the FRG. U.S. emissaries have succeeded to some extent. The ruling coalition in Bonn appears to have reconciled itself to the "quiet" modernization. The FRG cannot allow itself to place its own, national interests above those of the alliance.

But bloc thinking is undergoing a crisis in both East and West. The day when only a proper balance of national interests determines the policy of these blocs and their interrelations is not far off. This means that, sooner or later, the FRG will have to review its attitude to some military doctrines in order to make the most of the advantages of peaceful building in Europe.

FRG Naval Visit to USSR Planned for 9-12 Oct

LD1008092789 Hamburg DPA in German 0816 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—From 9 to 12 October ships of the Federal Navy will for the first time make a naval visit to the Soviet Union. The Defense Ministry reported in Bonn today that the destroyer "Rommel" and the frigate "Niedersachsen" would call at the Baltic port of Leningrad. The unit will be lead by Admiral Hans-Rudolf Boehmer, commander of the destroyer flotilla. A reciprocal visit by Soviet units to the German Navy is planned for next year.

The Defense Ministry referred to the fact that the Federal Navy's visit gives an important signal for the further development of military policy relations between the Federal Republic and the Soviet Union. The Defense Ministries in Bonn and Moscow agreed some time ago to

normalize relations between the Federal Army and the Soviet Armed Forces over the coming years, and "to achieve increased mutual trust through a greater knowledge of one another."

Admiral Dieter Wellershoff, the general inspector of the Federal Army, agreed, on the occasion of his visit to Moscow at the beginning of May, on details for deepening relations between the Armed Forces, with General Mikhail Moiseyev, chief of General Staff of the Soviet Army.

French Visitor Disappears in Moscow 29 Jul

LD1208101889 Moscow TASS in English 0926 GMT 12 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 12 TASS—First facts throwing light on the mysterious disappearance of French millionaire Garrig Basmadzhyan have appeared, the Soviet newspaper TRUD writes today.

Basmadzhyan came to the Soviet Union on July 21 at the invitation of the USSR Ministry of Culture and the Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga publishing house. He left the Moscow Rossiya Hotel on July 29 and did not come back. The Soviet Interior Ministry and the USSR State Security Committee have started an investigation.

Basmadzhyan is a well-known collectioner [as received] of painting. He donated five valuable pictures to the Armenian people shortly after the tragic earthquake last December. Basmadzhyan is an old friend of the Soviet Union and does a lot to make Soviet art popular abroad. The aim of his visit to the Soviet Union was to settle some legal formalities necessary for handing over the above-mentioned pictures to Armenia and discuss plans of further cooperation.

The newspaper TRUD asks anybody who knows anything about this mysterious disappearance to report it by phone.

Defense Minister Yazov To Visit Finland

LD1108183189 Moscow TASS in English 1621 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 11 TASS—Soviet Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov will come to Finland on an official visit in the second ten-day period of August at the invitation of Finnish Defence Minister Ola Norrback.

Soviet-Finnish Youth Festival Ends

LD1308102689 Moscow TASS in English 0930 GMT 13 Aug 89

[Excerpts] Kotka (southern Finland) August 13 TASS—By TASS correspondents Voyto Leskinen and Arkadiy Prisyazhniy:

The seventh festival of friendship of Soviet and Finnish youth has promoted as much as it could the realisation of people's striving for peace and socio-economic progress. This assessment of the festival that ended on Saturday was given by its participants.

Messages of greeting sent to the festival by Mikhail Gorbachev and President Mauno Koivisto of Finland put them in a serious frame of mind.

For a week young people from the two countries were engaged in an open discussion of problems which are of special concern to them, including war and peace, environmental protection and the struggle for their rights. They jointly exposed "blank spots" in the history of Soviet-Finnish relations and outlined new forms of the youth movement. [passage omitted)

They welcomed the coming official visit of Mikhail Gorbachev to Finland due to take place this autumn and expressed hope that it would promote mutual understanding and trust in relations between the two nations.

Participants in the festival sent messages of greeting to Mikhail Gorbachev and Mauno Koivisto in which they promised to consolidate friendship and cooperation between young people of the two countries in the spirit of perestroyka and glasnost.

It was decided to hold the next 8th festival in the Soviet Union.

Five Killed in Explosion at Mine in Barentsburg

LD1308123889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1157 GMT 13 Aug 89

[Text] Oslo, 13 Aug (TASS)—Five Soviet miners perished and two were seriously injured by carbon monoxide fumes as a result of an explosion at a coal mine at Barentsburg on the Spitzbergen Archipelago. The injured have been hospitalized and their lives are out of danger, a TASS correspondent was informed by telephone from the USSR Consulate in Barentsburg.

The tragedy happened at 1545 Moscow time [1145 GMT] last Friday [11 August]. Soviet representatives at Spitzbergen told Norwegian authorities on Saturday what had happened.

The reason for what happened has not yet been established. However, experts believe that accumulated methane in the mine exploded. The investigation has been made more difficult due to the high level of gas. Norwegian technical experts will assist in the investigation.

According to a statement by a representative of the Arktikugol production association, this is the first serious accident at the Soviet mines in Spitzbergen. There will be a thorough investigation.

A mourning meeting took place today in Barentsburg, and a civil funeral for the dead was held. The Soviet and Norwegian flags flew at half-mast here and at the archipelago's administrative center, Longiyr, in token of mourning.

Latin America & Caribbean

Central America Talks With U.S. End in London

LD1208152689 Moscow TASS in English 1404 GMT 12 Aug 89

[Text] London August 12 TASS—A regular Soviet-American exchange of views at experts' level on matters concerning a settlement of the situation in Central America took place here on August 10-12.

The discussions were of substantive and constructive nature corresponding to reassuring trends in the development of the situation in the Central American region.

Strains in Soviet-Cuban Trade Pondered

PM1008090589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Kamorin dispatch under the rubric "The World and Us": "Exports Tropical-Style, or Why Soviet and Cuban Partners Are Ceasing To Understand One Another"]

[Text] Havana—Speaking in the Cuban city of Camaguey at a ceremonial rally to mark the 36th anniversary of the assault on the Moncada barracks, Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Cuban Council of State and Council of Ministers, underlined the following, when referring to the country's economic position: "The situation now is such that we cannot even say that the timely deliveries which we have received from socialist countries for 30 years will continue to arrive with the same precision now. So in the future we may have to operate in conditions of not only a shortage of freely convertible currency but also problems with deliveries from socialist countries."

The shortcomings in the mechanism for Cuban-USSR trade and economic cooperation have indeed become increasingly marked recently. The machinery for bilateral economic cooperation which has arisen over the decades is giving warning of increasing trouble by disrupted deliveries, delayed exchanges, and shortages. The Soviet enterprises that succeeded in becoming Cuba's traditional partners have suddenly found themselves in the position of deliberate violators of contractual commitments. What is happening?

I believe that the misunderstandings and shortcomings in our cooperation over the last few years are not a technical problem but the manifestation of a serious lack of the new approaches absolutely necessary under conditions of Soviet economic reform. The point is that the current system of Soviet-Cuban relations mirrors the entire 30-year history of our contacts. The "abrasive action" that occurred during these 30 years resulted in both countries developing similar foreign economic management structures. However, it would be wrong to believe that this coincidence is merely the result of imitation. In conditions where the USSR accounts for more than 70 percent of Cuban foreign trade turnover and the lion's share of participation in constructing economic facilities, the Cuban economic management structure was automatically tailored to fit the main supplier and market.

Thus a highly centralized system formed on both sides and put our cooperation into a very "high orbit": more than R8 billion in commodity turnover and R2.5 billion in credit for the construction of facilities during the 5-year plan, along with the 400 industrial and other facilities already operating in Cuba which were set up with Soviet technical assistance. Until recently the system worked quite stably, although not without misfiring. At any rate the problems that arose in bilateral ties could always be resolved without going beyond the bounds of existing structures.

Cuba obtains the following products from our country in addition to basic raw material commodities: energy sources, metal, timber, food, and extremely diverse output from Soviet plants and factories, often items in extremely short supply. Under intergovernmental agreements the following traditional Cuban exports are sent to the USSR in payment for these deliveries: sugar, citrus fruits, and nickel, which amount to 98 percent of our imports from Cuba. According to established practice, all these imports are distributed in our country centrally, via state trade.

A great deal is changing today. The USSR's consistent course of decentralizing foreign economic activity, the latest phase of which began 1 April, when enterprises obtained the right to trade directly on foreign markets, has begun to create quite appreciable strain in the established mechanism for Soviet-Cuban cooperation. This strain primarily stems from the fact that the existing system was created at a time when simply no one took individual enterprises' interests into consideration.

Even now foreign-currency rubles—the converted equivalent of the Cuban pesos—piling up in bank accounts are the only real result of Soviet enterprises' involvement in cooperation with Cuba. The problem is that absolutely nothing can be bought with these foreign-currency rubles, not only on the world market but also in CEMA countries, since the community simply lacks a system for multilateral transactions. Of course, the foreign currency ruble is also a ruble and could be used within the country. However, any economic manager knows that money "is seeking" goods at present, rather than vice versa, in our emerging wholesale market.

Moreover, exports to suit Cuban conditions are a hassle. Special packaging and labeling, plus tropical modifications, plus extra documentation.... What is the point of an enterprise taking this trouble when in exchange it is going to get effectively the same rubles from Cuba as it does when working for domestic consumers, merely at the cost of a greater headache? Moreover, flexible price formation is becoming a fact of our economic life but in Soviet-Cuban trade it is usual to rigidly fix prices for the 5-year plan in advance.

All this means that participation in cooperation with Cuba has become unprofitable for many Soviet enterprises, especially those whose output is in short supply on the home market and meets world standards. This trend has still not fully manifested itself—1 April is not that long ago—however, instances of conflict already exist.

In particular, deliveries of Minsk refrigerators to Cuba are falling rapidly. The "Kishinevelektronika" Association informed its Cuban partners that production of the "Aurika" washing machine, whose name Cubans saw as virtually synonymous with this domestic appliance, is being discontinued in the near future. The Kishinev factory workers hinted that the new "Aurika-avtomat" model, developed with the participation of an Italian firm, "is not suited to Cuban conditions"...

Producers are endeavoring to get out of the Cuban market. If urgent steps are not taken, bilateral economic ties will be disorganized in direct proportion to the development of Soviet enterprises' foreign trade independence.

The organizations responsible for our cooperation are being faced with a temptation to restore the former status quo. To do this they would only have to place all deliveries to Cuba on the same juridical footing as the state order. But the state order does not at present arouse particular optimism in producers. Moreover, the use of the administrative-edict "whip" is once again at variance with the spirit of our reform.

Another way, considerably more complex but, in my opinion, the only possible way, is to find methods of interesting our suppliers in cooperation with Cuba. Proposals on this score also exist: ranging from the allocation of a certain quantity of the total volume of imported Cuban goods to provide "physical" goods to back up "Cuban money," to plans for organizing recreation for Soviet enterprises' personnel on the island. I want to stipulate that these are only the proposals of which I am aware, and you will agree that the quest for such proposals exceeds a journalist's competence—that is a matter for professional experts. All the options that have already been put forward still contain very many different "buts." For instance, in the first case, the meager range of imports is not conducive to success. You will agree that permanently exchanging refrigerators for sugar or oranges is also, God knows, no incentive.

The problem, I repeat, is that Cuba does not pay the producers but the state, and pays it in whatever is stipulated by the Soviet-Cuban agreements for the 5-year period. There have been cases where a Soviet enterprise that has accumulated a decent sum of "Cuban money" asks for this money to be converted into absolutely any kind of goods but meets with the response that the "partners have already paid for everything." Formally both sides are correct in this dialogue, but the interlocutors only shrug their shoulders and part in silence with inquiring glances at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and other lofty bodies whose task is to regulate the current situation.

As is well known, a host of objective circumstances, the main one being the long-standing economic blockade of Cuba, which has cut it off from the world market, have played a considerable role in creating this situation. A state whose very island position predetermines the open nature of its economy found itself virtually without new export sectors, despite its immeasurably increased general industrial potential.

In the last few years the Cuban leadership has made very marked efforts to build up export capacities. This primarily applies to the tourist industry, which was relegated to the back burner in the postrevolutionary years, for understandable reasons. The general national program for the socioeconomic development of the mountain regions—the "Turquino Plan"—is to sharply boost Cuba's coffee production capacities. Industrial shrimp farming enterprises—shrimps are a thriving commodity on the world market—are being set up. Lastly, perhaps no other Caribbean country has a publicity "showcase" like the yearly Havana trade fair, at which the republic "shakes down" the export capacities of its most diverse production units—ranging from artisanal crafts and beekeeping products to highly complex biotechnology preparations and computer programs.

Many Latin American and West European firms, which regard such contacts with ever-increasing interest, are being enlisted for participation in this export plan. However, the republic's main trading and economic partner—the Soviet Union—is "glaringly absent" in the development of nontraditional export sectors in Cuba. Why?

First, it has become clear that the USSR is simply unable to offer the technologies for creating goods capable of competing on the world market—we ourselves now learn this more from the West. Second, the Cuban side clearly tends to regard its debts to the Soviet Union as a "lesser evil" in comparison with its debts to the West. Hence the priority switch of nontraditional exports to the free trade zone.

Admittedly, cases of outright refusals to cooperate are rare—I can only remember a few such cases. Thus our proposal to create a joint coffee-producing enterprise did not meet with understanding from the Cuban side. The

plan put forward by the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet envisaging the joint operation of a ship hull cleaning unit in Cuba was not implemented either. Following the signing of an agreement of interest the idea of a joint pectin-producing enterprise "died" at the stage when the details were being fleshed out.

On the other hand, even agreed projects for the production of goods we need in Cuba—highly processed citrus products, personal computer keyboards, and the manufacture of clothing from Soviet raw materials—are being implemented with less vigor than, for instance, the Cuban-Mexican program for the construction of tourist hotels.

Cuba's quite understandable desire to earn more dollars is not the only snag. For instance, a Spanish firm which has supplied the island with a complete set of sanitary equipment for a hotel may very well take in part-payment, say, a consignment of decorative ceramics in order to sell them in its own country and make something on the deal. "Export trifles" are simply invisible to the naked eye in the case of our centralized deliveries, where whole petroleum refineries and nuclear power stations feature in the exchanges and millions and hundreds of thousands of tonnes of sugar and oranges are received in return. The "gaps" in commodity turnover which inevitably emerge, partly owing to the clear mismatch between the range of exports and imports, are automatically patched with credit to balance mutual trade. I personally very much regret that our leucoderma patients, for instance, are unable to buy melakhenin [as transliterated]—a unique compound, only produced in Cuba—to cure this ailment from Soviet drugstores, while our wives know nothing of Cuban perfumes and cosmetics, which are steeped in all the scent and color of the tropics....

In short, a gulf is arising—almost imperceptibly at present but consistently, millimeter by millimeter—between the avowed aims of our economic policy with regard to Cuba and the specific practice of cooperation. Establishments representing USSR interests in Havana find themselves caught between the devil and the deep blue sea. Their position is complex: As intermediaries, they have not been given the right to create mechanisms for interaction, they only put them into operation. Decisions from a higher political level are required. Politics and the economy are so closely intertwined in Soviet-Cuban relations that when you tug on what appear to be purely economic or technical problems, you begin to unravel a tangle of problems concerning the most fundamental questions of bilateral relations.

It cannot be forgotten that these last 30 years have linked our economies with strong ties. Every third spoonful of sugar in the USSR comes from the Cuban sugar plantations, almost half of the citrus fruits consumed in the country also come from Cuba, and nickel, which is in short supply on the world market, is extremely opportune for us. On the other hand, even if we leave aside shipments of raw materials and household goods, which can ultimately always be obtained elsewhere—if the money is there—there are still sectors of Cuban industry and the agrarian complex which were set up completely with our aid. Spare parts, equipment for reconstruction, and various consumables—all this firmly links our countries' economies.

Of course, all these problems are still awaiting solution. We must approach this discussion in a calm and professional manner, taking mutual interests and historical realities into consideration. And certainly in close linkage with the new emerging aspects which I have already mentioned. The immutable nature of the Soviet political course with regard to socialist Cuba was confirmed quite recently during M.S. Gorbachev's April visit to Havana. This political course must be given an opportunity to be successfully implemented in the light of the changes taking place in our country. The philosophy of the new thinking has led to the principles of the "follow-my-leader system" being abandoned in our relations with socialist countries and processes whose character and timeframe do not coincide with ours are now developing in all fraternal states. Changes in the mechanism of cooperation must take into consideration the complexity of these processes and be flexible and differentiated. This idea also fully applies to Soviet-Cuban relations.

Unfortunately, there are few examples of such an approach. The shortage of decisions aimed at removing the reasons for the continual hitches rather than patching them up is considerably more dangerous than specific shortages of refrigerators or tractors.

Text of Gorbachev Condolences to Castro

PM1108084189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Aug 89 Second Edition p 1

[M. Gorbachev message of condolences to F. Castro, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party]

[Text] To Comrade Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Cuban Council of State and Council of Ministers.

Please accept my sincere sympathy in connection with the railroad disaster in Matanzas Province, which resulted in loss of life. We share your grief.

I ask you to convey my profound condolences to the families of the dead and injured.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev

Gorbachev Sends Condolences to Mexico's Salinas
LD1108184989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has sent condolences to President Carlos Salinas de Gortari of the United Mexican States. The telegram says: We express sincere sympathy on the occasion of the railway disaster which occurred in the State of Sinaloa, involving human casualties. We ask you to convey our profound condolences to the families of those who were killed and to those who suffered.

Costa Rican Leader Receives Delegation
LD1008153489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0847 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] San Jose, 10 Aug (TASS)—Costa Rican President Oscar Arias Sanchez received on Wednesday [9 August] a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by A.A. Mokanu, deputy chairman of the Soviet of the Union.

The greetings of M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, were presented orally to the head of the Costa Rican state. During the conversation, O. Sanchez expressed profound gratitude to the Soviet leader. In this message, he stressed, is reflected the aspiration of the Soviet Union to assist the attainment of peace in Central America.

The president confirmed Costa Rica's resolve to continue the search for a peaceful solution of the regional crisis, one which will not just allow an end to be put to the war in this area which has already taken over 100,000 human lives, but will also become an important step on the path toward eliminating the poverty and economic backwardness of Central American states.

Paraguay Refuses Visas to Trade Unionists
LD1308104489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0505 GMT 13 Aug 89

[Text] Buenos-Aires, 13 August (TASS)—The Government of Paraguay has refused entry visas to trade union figures of the USSR, Cuba and Nicaragua, it was reported here, justifying its actions by the fact that there are allegedly "no free trade unions" in those countries.

The delegations which were refused visas had been invited by the leadership of the Inter-Trade Union Movement of Working People to take part in the constituent congress of a joint trade union center of the working people of Paraguay.

Despite an appeal by the Inter-Trade Union Movement of Working People, the government of General Andres Rodriguez also banned entry to the country by journalists from Nicaragua and other socialist countries.

Political & Social

Further Reportage on Estonian Strikes

Railroads, Enterprises Affected

PM1408095589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Report by Leonid Abalkin under the rubric "Direct Link, IZVESTIYA Own Correspondents on the Teletype": "Talks Have Not Begun Yet"]

[Text] Tallinn—Kopli goods station. It is mainly through this station that Tallinn is supplied with everything it needs. For the fourth day now these gates have been locked. According to Ya. Leshkin, chief of the Estonian department of the Baltic Railroad, a critical situation is taking shape.

"Some 14 trains and 1,200 cars are already standing idle. There is urgent freight which spoils rapidly. My attempts to persuade the collective to begin at least the partial processing of the cars have been unsuccessful. You yourself have heard the statements at the meeting. Unfortunately, to this day there is no dialogue between the government and the strike committees...."

I am talking with the railroad branch chief immediately after a meeting at Kopli station. It began 12 August at 0800. Those taking part categorically refused to go to work until talks had been begun.

"They have simply decided to intimidate us," those assembled said. "Criminal proceedings have been initiated against the strike activists. In its resolution the Supreme Soviet Presidium banned the strike and called for us to be punished as violators of the Estonian Constitution. All this is being done to push the strikers toward extremist actions. We are angered by some of the measures, which could cause street conflicts. Thus, on Friday [11 August] the neighboring stores suddenly began to sell vodka and beer at 1100. Why?"

...Fortunately the situation is being determined not by "liberal traders" but by thoughtful, restrained, sensible people. The heat of the strike did not spread to people's conduct and mutual relations. Here we must pay tribute to the leaders of the strikes and to the leaders of the public organizations representing the Estonian population.

Nonetheless the strikes have unfortunately intensified interethnic contradictions and two views of the situation in the republic, its roots, and the conditions for its stabilization have been more clearly differentiated. That is why two attitudes toward the recent decisions taken in the republic have also been highlighted. I have in mind the criminal proceedings initiated against the organizers of the strikes and the Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution. People in the Russian-speaking collectives and in the cities, where the nonindigenous population prevails, believe that the resolution essentially banning strikes should have been discussed and adopted either before the strikes began or after, if it was considered really necessary. But not at the very height of the strikes. It has kindled passions.

"We must take into account the opinion of the Estonian population and their feelings and convictions," E. Sillari, first secretary of the Tallinn Estonian Communist Party City Committee, objects to this opinion. "Many people saw in the Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution guarantees of discipline and law and order."

So there are different ways of seeing things, different viewpoints. The main thing is to bring them closer as rapidly as possible and to reach mutual understanding. So far attempts to initiate dialogue have been unsuccessful. I personally conveyed to the council of strike committees an invitation to meet with V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. In my presence the council rejected the invitation by a majority of votes."

I asked E. Sillari to describe the situation in the city and to explain the incomprehensible "liberalism" in the vodka trade.

"Tallinn is living almost as normal. Bus and truck drivers have come from the republic's rayons and cities. They have done away with the transport problem. This is the first I have heard of the sale of vodka at the wrong time. We shall look into it immediately."

Here is how the leaders of the republican council of strike committees explain their reluctance to go to a meeting at the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee: "We asked the republic's leadership to meet with all representatives of the strike committees. An open and direct talk about all our problems is finally needed. But they suggested that we send 5-6 people to the Central Committee."

A difference in interpretation again, albeit not a very fundamental one. Different interpretations, mutual suspicion, and distrust. During the day several more enterprises joined the strike. The total number of partially or full nonworking enterprise has reached 45. And to all appearances the figure is not the final one. The losses are already running into millions of rubles. Representatives of several large Riga enterprises have come to Tallinn. According to them a collection has been begun in Latvia to help the striking collectives of Estonia.

What is most needed today is dialogue. The situation is such that we cannot allow ourselves the luxury of waiting for the unconditional capitulation of one of the sides. Talks and a quest for ways of making the problems less acute are needed. Sacrificing the economy for the sake of prestige means destroying ourselves, means jeopardizing the fate of perestroyka in this region.

Strike Leader on Situation

PM1408074589 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 13 Aug 89 p 3

[Special correspondent M. Rostarchuk report: "Tallinn: Are Ambitions Appropriate?"]

[Text] The protest strike at enterprises in Tallinn and Kokhtla-Yarve, whose workers are mostly Russian-speaking, is spreading. The Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution which declared the strike illegal and proposed that the republic prosecutor institute administrative and criminal proceedings against its leaders and organizers has not promoted calm. Whereas during the first few days the leaders of all-union enterprises were against the strike, now the United Council of Labor Collectives wholly supports the republic strike committee.

The enterprises and labor collectives involved in the strike now include many organizations, institutions, and plants under republic jurisdiction. In total more than 40 labor collectives representing 40,000-50,000 working people have now stopped work in Tallinn and Kokhtla-Yarve. Rallies of support for the strikers have been held in Narva.

An emergency session of the Kokhtla-Yarve City Soviet was held under pressure from labor collectives yesterday and adopted a resolution to hold an extraordinary session to discuss the political situation in the city and the republic.

The following should be noted: The attempts by the local authorities and the local press to make out that the strike has been organized by a group of leaders at enterprises under union jurisdiction is not true. The initiative is held by worker collectives—most of the strike committee representatives in the republic council are workers, and many of them are Communists.

In conversation with your correspondent M. Lysenko, chairman of the republic council of strike committee representatives, stressed that the Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution is seen as illegal by labor collectives.

I want to note, Lysenko continued, that many labor collectives have come under severe pressure from the authorities—there have been militia pickets, visits to the enterprises by investigators from the prosecutor's office, threats and promises from the administration, and permission has even been given for vodka to be sold after work in the parts of the city predominantly inhabited by the Russian-speaking population. This is what we are now experiencing. But we have organized worker guards everywhere. People are in the right places.

We are getting moral and financial support from other cities: Riga, Kishinev, Leningrad.... Even pensioners are contributing their modest savings to the strike fund.

Why did we decide to call a strike? M. Lysenko continued. Because we realized that the republic leadership did not want to listen to our opinion and did not intend to take a single step in the direction of compromise. Our representatives participated in the working commission headed by A. Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium, and seemed to have worked out conciliatory solutions. But all this was a deception, nobody in the republic leadership had any intention of taking our proposals seriously. Why? After all, we are talking about highly serious matters. According to our calculations the law on elections to local soviets adopted in the republic deprives approximately 100,000-120,000 Russian-speaking residents of the right to vote. One can only imagine how the authors of this anticonstitutional document would have reacted if it had affected the Estonian population!

On behalf of the strike collectives we state that we also advocate republic economic accountability and perestroyka, but the republic leadership should not forget that more than half of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic's gross national product is created by Russian-speaking workers and we will not allow our rights to be infringed with the help of an ill-conceived language law and a discriminatory law on elections, which both lack material and organizational backup. The law on citizenship that is in the pipeline is no less offensive. We do not agree with the idea of conniving with the activities of the so-called "Estonian citizens' committees" organized by nationalist extremists posing a threat to Soviet power in Estonia, which for some reason have not attracted the attention of the prosecutor's office in the way that our strike committees did.

We will only hold talks with a representative commission from Moscow, since we no longer believe the republic leadership—it has deceived us too often. We will never agree with the principle of the "priority of the native population," which has been proclaimed as an official principle to the detriment of the Russian-speaking minority making up 40 percent of the population. Only the principle of equality is just.

The republic strike committee has publicized a protest statement which states, in particular, that the republic's party and state bureaucracy, involved in its struggle for the "priority of the indigenous nation" with right-wingers from the Estonian People's Front, is capable of any actions aimed against the equal rights of all Estonia's peoples and against effective socialist perestroyka.

...Yesterday evening it had seemed that there was a possibility of resuming dialogue between the republic strike committee and the republic leadership: It was suggested that five strike representatives visit the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. However, in the prevailing political situation the strike leaders did not consider it possible to accept this condition and insisted that V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian

Communist Party Central Committee, and A. Ryuytel, chairman of the Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium, come to the republic strike committee for talks. This was rejected.

The reluctance of the republic's party and state leadership to visit the strikers for talks was also reaffirmed after representatives of the railroad workers warned that in the next few days the Tallinn-Leningrad rail line will be paralyzed by unloaded freight trains. This could lead to serious economic consequences for the northern European part of the country. Everyone—both the leadership and the working people—should show state wisdom.

Labor Collectives Back Strikers

PM1308185589 Moscow TRUD in Russian 13 Aug 89 p 2

[Own correspondent L. Vayno dispatch: "Estonia: Tension Remains"]

[Text] Tallinn, 12 Aug—The political strikes continued in Estonia yesterday. According to figures provided by the city party committee [gorkom], 26 enterprises in Tallinn are either totally or partially on strike. Of the 35,000 people who work at these enterprises, approximately half are involved in the strike. Work has stopped at 13 enterprises in Kokhtla-Yarva. As most of the enterprises had the day off anyway, the strikes have mainly taken the form of pickets at the gates.

The tension in the city remains. However, despite strike action by drivers at a major branch of the bus depot, for example, public transport is running a regular service: Assistance is being given by drivers and buses from other cities and regions of the republic. Thanks to this assistance, stores are being supplied with foodstuffs. We were told by an officer on duty at the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] that there have been no serious incidents in the 4 days of the strike.

However, the economic consequences of the strike action will be felt before long. Without even mentioning the serious financial situation of most of the striking enterprises, the work stoppage threatens to undermine the republic's economic mechanism, which is not sufficiently impervious to crises. For example, trains which have not been processed are building up at two out of three goods stations in Tallinn. It is not hard to predict the consequences. If work does not resume on Monday, the "train deadlock" will become critical and serious disruptions of passenger services are possible.

To the earlier demands made by the strikers—to abolish the law on elections, as it violates the USSR Constitution and the rights of a considerable proportion of the Estonian population, and suspend the law on language—new ones have been added. In particular, the republic strike committee has adopted an appeal, urging rejection of the decision to transfer to republic ownership those enterprises at which the majority of workers are from the Russian-speaking population.

Although the statement by the Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Estonian Council of Ministers, and the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee has been given a favorable reception as a whole by the strike committee, the talks called by the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee for Friday [11 August] were rejected. The publication on the same day of the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution demanding an end to the strike prompted active protest from the Russian-speaking segment of the republic's population.

There is one more piece of news since our last report on the situation in Estonia: The United Council of Labor Collectives—an organization uniting collectives in which the workforce is predominantly Russian-speaking—has announced its solidarity with the strikers. This organization is officially registered and has a solid material base and authority.

The majority of people living in Estonia believe that it is quite essential to quickly find a solution to the situation. Ya. Saarniyt, secretary of the Tallinn party gorkom, believes that representatives of the United Council of Labor Collectives, the Union of Labor Collectives (an association of collectives of Estonian-speaking enterprises), and the Farmers Union should sit down at the negotiating table with the leaders of the republic. In this way, the whole of working Estonia would be represented, which is a serious precondition for finding a common language.

However, the likelihood of such talks beginning is reduced by the strike committee's decision to negotiate in future only at USSR Government level. But this is possibly the way out, especially as neither side has any objections to this.

But Sunday is now beginning, the day of a "symbolic" strike (the majority of 24-hour and special production units are at work). Monday morning is going to start with rallies.

Strikes Continue Despite Ban

LD1108150189 Moscow TASS in English 1445 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Tallinn August 11 TASS—Despite the fact that the Government of Soviet Estonia has announced a ban on strikes yesterday evening, stoppages continue at 39 enterprises. This was learned by a TASS correspondent at the headquarters of the strike committees. The strikes continue in Tallinn, the capital of Estonia, and in the miners' town of Khotla-Yarve.

The local papers published today a statement issued by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia on the political situation in that Baltic republic. It evaluates, specifically the so-called "Citizens' Committees", now being set up in Estonia, qualifying them as a potential "threat" to the democratic process" [quotation marks as received]. These committees are being formed on the initiative of nationalistic groups with a view to forming alternative organs of power.

The Estonian leadership self-critically acknowledged in the statement that it failed to "take into account fully the growth of national self-conscience among the non-Estonian population of the republic, its desire to take an active part in public life, particularly through its deputies in the drafting of new legislations".

Insufficient explanatory work among Russian-speaking citizens, the Republican leadership believes, aroused mistrust of party and Soviet organs in this part of the population. At the same time the statement claims that the leaders of the strike movement "have no positive programme", stake on "inter-ethnical strife and intimidation of the Russian-speaking population".

The leadership of Estonia has urged the people to honour the decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the suspension of strikes until a corresponding legislation is adopted. "Aware of the responsibility for the situation in Estonia, the Estonian Communists deem it to be their duty of honour to extricate the Estonian society, in cooperation with all progressive forces, from the current deep economic and political crisis", the statement says.

Tallinn Situation Remains Tense

LD1108181189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1630 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Tallinn, 11 Aug (ETA-TASS)—The situation in the Estonian capital remains tense. The Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium's decision on stopping the strikes has not taken effect. The strike committees council leaders have stated that they consider it to be illegal. An attempt has been made to stop the operations of the only freight railway station now functioning in Tallinn—Ulemiste. However, the station has continued operating. The railroad strike is the most dangerous factor. The sea freight port is beginning to come to a halt because of the refusal to unload trucks. Coal consignments abroad are being disrupted.

The absence of raw materials held up on the railroads is also beginning to effect the work of other enterprises. It is already hard to tell which of the 26 enterprises in the city are not working because they are on strike and which have been stopped completely or partially by the impossibility of continuing their work. According to the city party committee, the number of strikers in the city has reached 16,000 out of the 35,000 working at strike-affected enterprises.

In order to neutralize the consequences of a strike by drivers of three Tallinnavtotrans Association branches, about 100 vehicles have been brought to the city, including some from Narva.

Strikers tried to set up pickets on the trolley routes in order to upset services. This attempt was not successful.

A number of enterprises in Kohtla-Jarve are continuing to strike.

There have been no disturbances in the streets of the two cities. Life is proceeding normally. All services providing vital support for the population are functioning normally.

No repressive measures are being taken on the basis of the decision by the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The strike began after Estonia's Supreme Soviet adopted a law on elections to local soviets, which provides for the introduction of residence qualification for voters and deputies. The strikers are continuing their demand that a commission be sent from the all-union government or the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Tallinn Strike Leader Comments

PM1108181989 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 12 Aug 89 p 1

[Own correspondent Vyacheslav Proskura report: "Tension Mounting"; first two paragraphs are SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA introduction]

[Text] Alarming news is coming from Estonia: Dozens of enterprises have stopped work and gone on strike. The strikers are demanding that a government commission be sent to see them.

Our own correspondent Vyacheslav Proskura sends this report from the "Dvigatel" Production Association.

Tallinn—I spoke with Valeriy Sednev, chairman of the plant's strike committee. He is head of a sector. Twenty years ago, Valeriy was sent to Tallinn on assignment as a young specialist, after graduating from the polytechnical institute in Kharkov. He "fitted in well with the "Dvigatel" multiethnic labor collective. About a year ago he was accepted as a candidate member of the Estonian Communist Party.

Many people I spoke to, including Estonian Communist Party Central Committee officals, told me about the emotional outburst that was responsible for the current strike. But how is the strike seen by an ordinary person who finds himself leader of the collective in this unusual situation?

"It started at the end of last winter and the beginning of spring," Valeriy Sednev told me. "As you know, on 23 February, Soviet Army Day, the Estonian state flag was lowered at dusk from the Pikk Hermann Tower, which is in old Tallinn, with the permission of the local authorities. The following morning, the 'Tricolor'—the tricolor 'national standard' which was once the flag of the bourgeois republic—was ceremonially raised on the same tower.

"Workers at the Kalinin Plant saw this 'non-Soviet flag' flying over the city from the windows of their workshops. This caused shock and anger. They left their work stations and began a spontaneous rally, and many of them rushed off toward Pikk Hermann... A red banner was attached to the plant chimney. Party and trade union activists and the administration had difficulty preventing more serious actions by the worker collective at the time.

"The scheduled sitting of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) Supreme Soviet which adopted the Law on Elections to Local Soviets was a direct incentive for announcing the strike. The draft law had been published in the press shortly before this. However, the republic leadership did not express its attitude to the numerous objections against the new regulations, which were mainly raised by 'outsiders.'

"The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet session passed the law, even approving the contentious provision on residential qualification for voters and candidate deputies."

I can understand the indignation felt by Valeriy and those he represents on the strike committee. There are a lot of questions one would like to ask deputies. But the already tense situation must not be heated further. It is an urgent matter to extinguish the fire, so that no one suffers.

A few more words about the methods used. We have been taught since childhood that good can only come from untainted hands. So, equality must be achieved not by pressure of force but by democratic means. It is not only the working people of the Estonian SSR who will be the victims of the strikes.

Strikers Say Presidium Biased

PM1108155989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent Leonid Levitskiy report under the rubric "Direct Line": "Seek a Solution Together"]

[Text] Tallinn—The tone of the republic newspapers is alarming. Each of them carries reports on the strike that is affecting a considerable proportion of Tallinn's enterprises. It is also spreading in Kokhtla-Yarva. A total of 41 of the republic's enterprises have either laid down their tools completely or partially stopped work. More than 40,000 people are employed at these enterprises.

All the newspapers have published the statement by the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers, and the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee "On the Political Situation in the Estonian SSR." There is only one way to achieve calm, stable life in the republic, it says, and that is through parliamentary democracy.

The statement says that a serious appraisal should be given, for example, to the claims by the initiators of citizens' committees that they have a monopoly right to determine the future of Estonia. These "citizens' committees" could develop into a factor jeopardizing the democratic process. The organization of strike action is strongly condemned in the statement. Strikes only exacerbate interethnic relations and strengthen the positions of right-wing forces. At the same time, it points out that the strikes are evidence of the concern felt by a large segment of Russian-speaking collectives for their future in Estonia. Growth in the national awareness of the nonindigenous population and in its political activeness has not been properly considered.

All the newspapers also published the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution "On Measures To Safeguard the Rule of Law and Law and Order in the Republic." Its first point states that "... strikes at enterprises, institutions, and organizations in the territory of the Estonian SSR must be stopped from the day of publication of this resolution." It indicates that any actions designed to upset the normal working rhythm will be regarded as action in violation of the Estonian SSR Constitution.

The Estonian SSR Public Prosecutor's Office has been instructed to intensify supervision of the rule of law in labor collectives and the actions of associations and individual citizens calling for the creation of alternative bodies of authority.... The Council of Ministers has been instructed to ensure that the republic's national economy functions without interruption....

Judging by the initial information, social organizations representing the Estonian population have greeted the Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution with approval. In any case, telephone calls to the IZVESTIYA correspondents' center persuade us that this is the case. Protest rallies are now being held at the striking enterprises and corresponding documents are being adopted.

Here is a commentary by the republic headquarters of the strike committee:

"Once again, the one-sided attitude of the Supreme Soviet Presidium and its reluctance to take account of the rights and interests of labor collectives and the

greater part of the Russian-speaking population have been confirmed. If only as a courtesy, they could have acquainted labor collectives with the draft resolution and invited their representatives to the Presidium. As always, decisions are being made behind our backs, and then we are accused of unparliamentary struggle. But who is forcing us to do this? Our deputies, deputies from the Russian-speaking population, are so few in the Supreme Soviet that their voices carry no weight. Even a parliamentary conflict—the refusal by 36 deputies to take part in a vote—had no impact on the stand of the majority, and the the Law on Elections to Local Soviets, which discriminates against the Russian-speaking population, was approved by the majority.

"Now the Supreme Soviet Presidium is trying to deprive us of the possibility to defend our political and civil rights. The threat of the use of force and blatant pressure have only inflamed feeling further. It is becoming increasingly difficult for us to restrain people at enterprises. Threats and bans will never be a substitute for negotiation."

The relevant documents are being sent to the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee.

Estonian Electoral Law Labeled Unconstitutional
LD1108194489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 11 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; in-studio interview with Soviet Justice Minister Veniamin Fedorivich Yakovlev by Aleksandr Krutov, Vremya commentator and people's deputy—live or recorded]

[Text] [Krutov] Veniamin Fedorovich, strikes are under way in Estonia at the moment, and one of the causes is the law the Estonian Supreme Soviet adopted on 8 August, on local elections in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic. Stress is laid particularly upon the fact that individual provisions of the law are not in conformity with, but rather contradict, the USSR Constitution. What can you say in regard to this?

[Yakovlev] The specific clause at issue here is, I think, Article 2 of this law. The first section—I shall perhaps quote directly—of this law, of this article, rather, states the following: Citizens of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic who have reached the age of 18 and who have lived in the territory of the Soviet of People's Deputies being elected for no less than the last 2 years, or in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic for a total of 5 years, have the right to vote.

And the third section of this article: Every citizen of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic who has reached the age of 18 who has resided on the territory of the Soviet of People's Deputies being elected for no less than the last 5 years, or in the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic for a total of 10 years, can stand for election as a People's Deputy.

[Krutov] A qualification is thus being introduced.

[Yakovlev] That is absolutely true: A residence qualification is thereby being introduced, something hitherto unknown in our legislation. And this means that a pretty considerable section of that republic's population would be pushed aside from participation in any elections held in accordance with this law; that is, they would have neither the right to vote nor to be elected.

[Krutov] And what does our Constitution say, what does it proclaim?

[Yakovlev] I think it is wholly obvious that these provisions do not comply with any fundamental directive of our Constitution. In particular, one can say that they contradict Articles 34, 48, 95, and 96. I shall quote just one of the aforementioned articles, Article 34: Citizens of the USSR are equal before the law, regardless of their origin, social and property position, racial and national adherence, sex, education, language, attitude to religion, kind and nature of occupation, place of residence, and other circumstances. It is therefore evident, so to speak, that the one is not in accordance with the other.

[Krutov] And how does this republican law on elections to local soviets accord with international pacts on human rights signed by our country?

[Yakovlev] I think your question to some extent contains its own answer, because it of course does not accord with these. Among the pacts that the Soviet Union has joined is the pact on civil and political rights. Articles 2 and 25 are drawn up more or less in the same way as our Constitution, such that the state must ensure equality of citizens' rights, and in particular equality and universality of the right to vote, without any unjustified restrictions.

[Krutov] Throughout the territory of states.

[Yakovlev] Throughout the territory of the Soviet Union, on the territory of all the union republics, naturally.

[Krutov] What could the legal consequences be of republican law failing to correspond with the USSR Constitution?

[Yakovlev] Well, one should turn to Article 74 of the USSR Constitution, which seems to me to contain the answer to this question. This says that USSR laws are effective throughout the territory of the USSR, and consequently on the territory of all the union republics; and if the law of a republic is at variance with USSR law,

than it is USSR law which is effective. To put it differently, that is, insofar as republican law contradicts the Constitution, it must quite simply be regarded as invalid.

[Krutov] So what now, then?

[Yakovlev] Now, I think, it would be highly expedient, and juridically correct, for the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet to return once again to this Article 2 of the law.

[Krutov] Thank you.

Further on Justice Minister's Views

PM1308194589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Unnamed TASS correspondent interview with V.F. Yakovlev, USSR minister of justice: "Considered Approach Needed"—date and place unspecified]

[Text] On 8 August 1989 the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet adopted the Law on Elections to Local Soviets of People's Deputies, and also the Law on Introducing Amendments and Additions to the Estonian SSR Constitution (Basic Law), which, in line with the new articles of the Law on Elections, makes a number of changes to the republic's Constitution. As is well known, the adoption of these acts has prompted an ambiguous reaction from some members of the Estonian population, who regard them as an infringement of their civil rights. Our TASS correspondent asked V.F. Yakovlev, USSR minister of justice, to comment on these laws.

[Correspondent] Veniamin Fedorovich, as is well known, the adoption of these acts is one of the main reasons for the current strikes in Estonia. It is being stressed, in particular, that some of their provisions are at variance with the USSR Constitution. What can you say about this?

[Yakovlev] I think that Article 2 of this law is specifically envisaged in this case. Part 1 of this article literally states that "citizens of the Estonian SSR who have reached 18 years of age and have lived in the territory of the soviet of people's deputies to be elected for not less than the past 2 years or in the Estonian SSR for a total of 5 years have the right to vote." Part 3 of this same article says: "Any citizen of the Estonian SSR who has reached 18 years of age and has lived in the territory of the soviet of people's deputies to be elected for not less than the past 5 years or in the Estonian SSR for a total of 10 years may run as a candidate for people's deputy." This essentially introduces a residential qualification.

[Correspondent] This term has not often been used in our press....

[Yakovlev] It is indeed true that the term "residential qualification" has so far been alien to our legislation. In this particular instance, if elections to local soviets in Estonia are conducted in line with the recently adopted law, a considerable proportion of the population will be barred from taking part. In other words, some citizens will not have the right either to vote or to be elected.

[Correspondent] But perhaps there are provisions enshrined in the USSR Constitution for adopting documents of this nature?

[Yakovlev] On the contrary, it is quite obvious that the provisions cited above fail to correspond to a whole series of articles in our country's Constitution. In particular, they conflict with Articles 34, 48, 95, and 96 of the Constitution.

I will allow myself to quote just one. So, Article 34 states: "Citizens of the USSR are equal in the eyes of the law, irrespective of their origin, social and property status, race, nationality, sex, education, language, religious belief, type and nature of employment, place of residence, and other circumstances." If restrictions are imposed on citizens' rights on the basis of length of residence in the republic, there can be no talk of equality in the eyes of the law on an all-union scale.

[Correspondent] You can foresee the criticism of "Moscow's stand" by certain circles in the West, particularly the criticism from radio voices broadcasting to the USSR along the lines of "limiting the rights of a sovereign republic." And, as an argument, references to certain provisions of international law?

[Yakovlev] With regard to international law, it is appropriate to point out the disparity between the legislative acts adopted by the Estonian Supreme Soviet on 8 August and, for example, the Convention on Civil and Political Rights. The Soviet Union is one of the states signatory to this convention. Articles 2 and 25 of this convention are essentially set out as they are in our Constitution. They make it clear that a state is obliged to ensure equality of citizens' rights, and particularly the equality and universality of electoral rights, without any unjustified restrictions. As far as we are concerned, this means ensuring equal electoral rights in all the union republics. Justified restrictions include the regulations contained in Article 96 of the USSR Constitution, under which, for example, "mentally ill citizens cannot participate in elections."

[Correspondent] What could the legal consequences be of this disparity between a republic law and the USSR Constitution?

[Yakovlev] Well, obviously we must refer to Article 74 of the USSR Constitution. It states that USSR laws are valid for the whole country and, consequently, all the union republics. If a republic law does not correspond to a USSR law, in this case the USSR law will prevail. Or, to put it another way, that section of the republic law which is at variance with an all-union law must simply be considered null and void.

[Correspondent] So, what is the solution?

[Yakovlev] I think it would be highly advisable and legally correct if the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet were to return to this Article 2 of the law once more.

And the last point. The legislative process is an extremely delicate, complex business. We are still on the way to forming a rule-of-law state. So, a careful approach to the adoption of serious legal acts is important, and legislative decisions affecting the basic rights of our citizens must be given great thought.

Commentary Examines Estonian Strike Law

PM1408091289 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Aug 89 Second Edition p 3

["Own information" report from Tallinn, plus commentary by candidate of legal sciences Ye. Kubankov and doctor of legal sciences K. Skvortsov, under the rubric "Fact and Commentary": "But What About Rights?"]

[Text] [Own information report] Tallinn—Official figures on the number of strikers in Estonia are still being clarified, but the strike committee reports that 40 of the republic's enterprises are fully or partially taking part in the strike—that is approximately 40,000 people.

The strikers are refusing to hold talks with the local authorities, because the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Government and legislators responded to their attempts to find a compromise with what the strike committee regards as the unconstitutional, discriminatory law on elections.

There was an extremely negative reaction among the strikers to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution "On Measures To Ensure Legality and Law and Order in the Republic," which calls for an unequivocal stop to the strikes from its day of publication, that is, last Friday [11 August]. In accordance with this resolution the republic prosecutor is to strengthen oversight of legality in the labor collectives and of associations of citizens which "by their activity cause tension in interethnic relations and call for the formation of alternative organs of power," while prosecutors are to take administrative proceedings, in accordance with Estonian SSR laws, against persons calling for actions directed against the organs of power. On the basis of this resolution criminal proceedings have been instituted against certain strike leaders.

All this has further exacerbated the situation in the labor collectives. The confrontation between a significant number of workers and the republic leadership is at the present moment a reality. The strikers are not allowing local leaders or representatives of Estonia's party organs into the enterprises.

As for order at the enterprises, it is being maintained effectively by the workers themselves, and no violations were recorded yesterday.

Meanwhile the Estonian United Council of Labor Collectives has decided to give the strikers not only moral, but also material support.

The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the republic Council of Ministers, and the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee have issued a joint statement "On the Political Situation in the Estonian SSR," which contains an appeal to renounce confrontation and the language of ultimatums. In the strikers' opinion, the Estonian political leadership, instead of seeking a reasonable solution to the crisis, is still inclined to operate by strong-arm methods. [report ends]

[PRAVDA introduction to commentary] You will agree that the situation taking shape in Estonia is alarming. A strike is not, of course, the best way to resolve contentious issues. But if people take such a step, it means they see no alternative to this extreme measure. Are the documents adopted by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet really discriminatory? Are they contrary to the USSR Constitution? Is the resolution "On Measures To Ensure Legality and Law and Order in the Republic" itself correct from the legal viewpoint, since it is directed primarily, in the strikers' opinion, against the workers who are today protesting in connection with an election law that infringes their rights?

We asked two legal scientists specializing in problems of state structure to comment on these questions.

[Kubankov, Skvortsov commentary] First, the contradictions inherent in the document "On Measures To Ensure Legality and Law and Order in the Republic" issued by the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Its illogicality strikes you immediately: In drawing it up the Estonian legislators, the resolution says, took as their starting point "Point two of the 2 August USSR Supreme Soviet resolution 'On the Draft USSR Law on the Procedure for Resolving Collective Labor Disputes.'" This is the first time we can recall such a case—a legislator using not a finalized and ratified union law, but merely...a draft! A draft that could be rejected or amended at the next session.

It is strange that Estonian lawyers, who so often make recommendations to union legislators, should have done such an extraordinary thing from the theoretical viewpoint.

But life is not theory. It is made up of human lives. And it is hard to predict how this resolution could affect them.

About the election law. There are more contradictions there. The republic has presented the country with a fait accompli, but its Supreme Soviet has violated the union

constitution—specifically Article 34, which states unequivocally that **"Citizens of the USSR are equal before the law, regardless of origin, social position or property, racial or national affiliation, sex, education, language, attitude to religion, type and nature of occupation, place of residence, or other circumstances.**

"The equality of citizens of the USSR is guaranteed in all spheres of economic, political, social, and cultural life."

As you know, no one has yet repealed the constitution, so this amounts to a gross violation of it.

The same could be said of Articles 48, 95, and 96, which are violated by the Estonian legislators, who arrogated to themselves what falls within the union's competence and deprived a section of full citizens of the country of their elementary constitutional rights—to elect and to be elected.

Article 74 states: **"USSR laws have identical force on the territory of all the union republics. In the event of a discrepancy between a union republic's law and an all-union law, the USSR law operates."** Clear and unequivocal. But apparently in the future the USSR Supreme Soviet will have to think about measures directed against violations of the union constitution, since, in our conviction, a precedent of this nature could prove extremely serious.

In extending legal guarantees of Soviet people's rights and freedoms in various spheres, including the sphere of ethnic relations, it is necessary to proceed on the basis of international legal acts supported by the Soviet Union. Let us cite just two such documents, separated by 4 decades. On 10 December 1948 the UN General Assembly approved and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Article 2 of the declaration states that **every person should possess all the freedoms with no distinction whatever on the grounds of race, color of skin, sex, language, religion, political or other convictions, national or social origin, property, class, or other position.** Among the inalienable rights of man, the declaration proclaims the equality of all people before the law, **the right of every person to move freely and choose his place of residence within each state**, the right to enter into marriage and start a family free from all restrictions based on race, nationality, or religion, the right of equal access to state service in one's country, the right to labor, to a free choice of work, to fair and favorable working conditions, and to protection from unemployment, and the right to education, which should promote mutual understanding, tolerance, and friendship between all peoples and racial or religious groups. "Every person has a duty to society," Article 29 of the declaration says, "in which alone is the free and full development of his personality possible."

The second international act is the Final Document of the 1986 Vienna meeting of CSCE states. It says that the state is obliged to ensure within its territory human rights and basic freedoms **free from all distinctions such as: race, color of skin, sex, language, religion, political or other convictions, national or social origin, property, birth, or other circumstances.** The state is obliged to ensure that no one exercising his rights and freedoms and no member of his family is subjected to discrimination in any form as a result.

As you can see, the Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium decision is contrary to the aforementioned international legal acts.

Estonian People's Front Chairman Interviewed

Part 1

PM1108131189 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 14 Jul 89 p 3

[Part one of a two-part interview with Edgar Savisaar, chairman of the Estonian People's Front, by A. Niynemets; reprinted from the 6 July issue of the newspaper EDAZI: "Not Burying Our Heads in the Sand: Interview With Edgar Savisaar on Topical Subjects"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Niynemets] A proposal to register People's Front members will be discussed at a joint conference of representatives of regional boards of the Estonian People's Front [EPF] and members of the Plenipotentiaries Council in Pylva on 8 July. What does this imply? (SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA note: This conference has already taken place, and a corresponding decision was adopted)

[Savisaar] Every political movement is obliged to keep itself in shape. The time has come for the EPF to put itself in order organizationally so as to make its work more efficient. We would like to introduce annual registration of EPF supporters and sympathizers in order to determine the number of our supporters. This is like a kind of referendum on attitudes toward the EPF and, at the same time, a catalyst for the activities of EPF support groups in propagandizing the ideas of the People's Front and convincing people of the need for a political choice.

The registration campaign is scheduled for 20 July through 20 October. This timeframe includes both mass summer political events and fall events at the end of the vacation period. "EPF 1989" registration cards will be distributed by the EPF Administration of Affairs and by regional centers. The card costs R1. It will bear the owner's name. Support for the EPF certainly does not mean that a person cannot be attracted to some other ideals that differ from the EPF Program. For the EPF as a movement includes proponents of diverse views: radicals and moderates, Communists and supporters of the Antiquity Preservation Society, believers and atheists, "greens" and supporters of the Estonian Council of Labor Collectives.

The registration card is not a membership card. It is a token of a choice which by no means has to be confirmed next year if some changes have occurred in the person's social orientation. If this has happened, he certainly is not obliged to register as an EPF supporter. A person simply expresses his own political will, and no one asks him why it is as it is. In this sense EPF registration differs from the procedure for joining the party, during which it is necessary to negotiate a whole number of "lock gates"—which takes numerous guarantees, signatures, and assurances.

EPF supporters are not hostages. If someone feels that the EPF is politically unacceptable to him, he is free to return his card and to do so calmly, remaining incognito if he so wishes. In this way the EPF's leading organs ensure feedback and information on diverse public sentiments and protests and their scale.

Not only Estonians but also non-Estonians are faced with making a choice. It is no less important for the latter. By registering as an EPF supporter Russians will be able to express their attitude toward the Estonian people's aspirations and their desire to ensure a stable future for themselves and their children. An EPF registration card in the hands of a Russian attests to his rejection of great-power, chauvinist pretensions and his opposition to the sallies of the International Movement [IM].

[Niynemets] How do you assess the political processes in Estonia this year? Will the wave of romantic national sentiments subside?

[Savisaar] The time for hopes and daydreams is passing. But, despite everything, political processes are moving in the right direction, and some hopes are already close to realization. Therefore, there is no need to hold large-scale popular meetings. A rally is no ordinary event. The people must meet only to resolve the most important matters, not to deal with trifles. If we are driven back into our former condition and if the cliches of the stagnation times are employed once again, then the people will meet again at a call from the EPF.

There are people who think only about how to clip coupons as resourcefully as possible from national feelings. There is nothing behind some people's fancy patriotic words but their own advantage and business. The influence of slick operators on our society is increasing all the time. The time of some kind of economic swinishness has arrived: Grab what you can and use what you can. This disconcerts the people. (I do not know whether the Antiquity Preservation Society is alarmed at the fact that old Tallinn is literally being demolished for dollars.)

Changes in the structure of political forces are taking place in the direction of pluralism and political differentiation. But the basis for joint strategic actions is still there, although there is an increasing threat of the growing influence of extreme protest movements. The broadening base of both the IM and the Estonian National Independence Party [ENIP] is clearly visible. Nothing would turn these extremes into a force if it were not for the sluggish and indeterminate actions of the EPF's conservative wing (and, with regard to the IM, also direct assistance for it). The EPF is not a judge lecturing others on how things should be and what to do. But I want to say that the party bears special responsibility and must implement an extremely vigorous policy both for the sake of internal democratization and for the sake of the stabilization of political relations in our society. It cannot be said that all efforts so far have been unsuccessful, but they could have produced more.

New political formations have emerged—the Estonian Council of Labor Collectives and Maaliyt. Whereas the EPF came into being as a civic initiative, the latter organizations have been formed on the basis of relations of subordination and economic interests. Under existing conditions they will evidently never be radicalized, they can quite easily be channeled in the required direction, and they are convenient for leading bodies. Of course, producers' organizations are powerful if they are capable of influencing the interests of others (for example, by ending sales of meat products in cities), but they are very vulnerable in themselves and are not free in the system of distributive relations and administrative-party subordination. Because of this, they will never be able to stand in the front line of the political struggle. Their place is where they are strong (that is, in the economy) and where their interests are objective, not subjective. It is perfectly natural that conservatives seek to create confrontation between organizations based on labor collectives and the EPF. It is possible, for example, to din into peasants that the prices of agricultural products are our affair, but let the city chiefs tackle this sovereign matter. The question of prices is undoubtedly important to rural people, only it is important that they not confine themselves to this alone but support the general democratic movement through their specific demands.

[Niynemets] To which social groups should special attention be paid this summer?

[Savisaar] To young people. Last summer took vengeance on us for the fact that the significance of the Russian people's politicization was not sufficiently understood. This summer the same could happen with respect to young people, who could enter political life as an independent social group in the next few months. So far the desire for democratization in society had been so general that it was equally acceptable to everyone. A search is now on for special features, a search for their own personal prospects. The most important prospect for young people is real freedom (of speech, of the press) and participation in realizing Estonian self-management [IME]. Unfortunately, young people do not see themselves in IME. They do not see a convincing prospect for themselves. If they are not allowed to participate seriously in IME they will become radicalized extremely quickly. A young person must believe that he is the very force that will extricate Estonia from the crisis.

[Niynemets] T. Kelam maintains in the journal LOOMING that the gradual path of reforms has entered an impasse and that we are now in a position where our attempts at official reforms are also in an impasse. How would you comment on this?

[Savisaar] The ENIP has taken the stand that it will be better if IME does not happen. In other words, they want to bring this matter to a political impasse. Here private interest is preferred to the common good of Estonia. The ENIP has been unable to propose a constructive program, and when we began realizing our own one they took on the role of critic. The ENIP emerged on the wave of the political movement's upsurge but has been unable to evolve into a real political force. Of course, IME is proceeding with difficulty, and there are many obstacles in its path. But we were not reckoning on an easy path. In the name of success we will have to make a considerable effort and break many lances. But this does not mean that IME is in an impasse.

[Niynemets] It is said that IME is nonetheless a halfhearted solution to our problems.

[Savisaar] There have been increasingly frequent attacks on IME from both sides. Both on the question of raising the blue, black, and white flag at Toompea and with regard to IME the IM, our homespun radicals quickly found a common language—which reaffirms the truth that extremes come together. Mayt Raun writes: "IME is an improved but still administrative (?!—SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA note) variant of the existing economic model" and "IME increases colonial oppression." In the journal VIKERKAAR, Kaydo Kama calls for a very wary attitude toward IME and believes that "it would be more sensible to tackle the economy seriously only after release from the status of a colonial country." I will note, incidentally, that we may call ourselves a colony in a fit of self-flagellation, but this is not so. It is possible to speak of a colony when there is a mother country that lives at the colony's expense. An example of this is Britain, which lived, and lived well, at the expense of its outposts. We do not have a mother country, and all have been utterly ruined, including Russia. We are dealing with an extremely badly organized state where bureaucracy has cast public property to the wind because of incompetence and ideological fanaticism.

Now about halfhearted solutions. Only naive people see IME as halfhearted. It may be halfhearted in a political sense, but it is a guarantee of progress in the economy. In an economic sense many existing states cannot afford the level of independence that we want to achieve with the help of IME. But sooner or later the economy determines the political superstructure. Political decisions stem from an economic base. It could be said that IME is politically halfhearted, but it is economically fundamental, and I consider this extremely important from the viewpoint of Estonia's future. Only economic successes will make us free, and freedom in itself does not resolve a single economic or ecological problem. There are quite a lot of formally independent states in which any economic sneeze by neighbors at once rebounds upon customs policy, principles of immigration, and so forth. At the same time there are dependent states which are essentially sovereign. Sovereignty means the right to adopt the final decision, and independence in the forms of their own statehood means just the inviolability of their borders. Canada is juridically dependent on Britain, but Ottawa always retains the right to an independent, final decision. Power belongs not to jurisprudence but to the economy and well organized relations both in one's own society and with neighboring states. No law will work unless it is backed up materially. It is naive to believe that peace will transform a juridical postulate and that neither force nor anything else is necessary for such a transformation. Unsubstantiated formal juridical theses on our rights will not get things moving on their own. One's own statehood is not a panacea. The people's favorable development is possible in principle in diverse forms, and their own statehood is just one of these. The form in which development takes place is a question of national self-determination, and no one else can resolve it. In any case this cannot be resolved by means of scheming among political forces. But it is within our power to promote the democratization of society in order to attain a level where the people will express their will really freely, and so that it will be taken into account.

[Niynemets] What can be considered our greatest political victory?

[Savisaar] The fact that we have not let ourselves be driven into an impasse. So far we are managing to move forward and maneuver successfully, maintaining strategic scope for action and not losing sight of the ultimate goal. An impasse would mean a situation in which it is impossible to move forward and in which there is nowhere to retreat to. Tactical maneuvers must not be underestimated since, in the final analysis, the winners are not those with the finest ideas (anyone can design a City of the Sun) but those who are best able to put their ideas into practice. In the struggle with a clearly superior enemy it is tactically important to ensure that he can make a worthy retreat and to create conditions under which the proposed solutions will be acceptable to him.

In this we differ from extreme movements. We endeavor to make real progress, but people criticize us and call us compromisers, throwing ringing and easily understood phrases about. Our enemies are always holier than us. We do not have the right to speak in the heat of the moment, and we avoid straightforwardness in complex processes. Unlike us, extreme movements formulate their goals without proposing the tactics for realizing them in practice with due regard to circumstances. They are ready to lead the people into a broad offensive against tanks, like anarchists in Spain—with head held high and in orderly ranks beneath flying flags. But at the same time they do not want to do anything to ensure their rear, which is hard, difficult work.

In fact, they do not understand the anatomy of the changes—that is, generally how to implement changes in the social system. Can it be considered an acceptable tactic at all to keep watch over the fact that the Congress of Estonia conceived by the ENIP needs serious talks with Moscow on the subject of restoring Estonia's independence? The impression is created that the festive tables have already been laid in Moscow, the only problem being that competent representatives have not yet arrived from Estonia. Can you imagine yourself even once in Gorbachev's place? He says that the 48 people's deputies whom Estonia itself elected to the Congress of People's Deputies are Estonia's representatives. But who then are the citizens' committees? What negotiations do they intend to conduct, and with whom?

Political forces that do not have a constructive action program and that remain protest movements need increasingly effective demands in order to stay afloat. Seeing that the EPF has tackled real problems in real earnest and could achieve success (world experience convinces us that in the majority of cases it is precisely the center and not extremes that realizes itself), the ENIP is heading for a conflict without thinking of the consequences. It is becoming increasingly obvious that it considers its ideological enemies to be not the Estonian Communist Party or the IM, with which it avoids clashes, but the EPF, which it is seeking to split.

Attempts are being made to impose party order on the People's Front in work within the organization. But the EPF is a movement which acts a uniting link between diverse forces in the name of fulfilling the paramount tasks of democratization. We do not want and do not intend to express ourselves in such a party form as the ENIP because our principle is to unite political forces from end to end, that is, ranging from Communists to believers.

Part 2

PM1108141589 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 15 Jul 89 p 3

[Part two of a two-part interview with Edgar Savisaar, chairman of the Estonian People's Front, by A. Niynemets; reprinted from the 7 July issue of the newspaper EDAZI: "Not Burying Our Heads in the Sand: Interview With Edgar Savisaar on Topical Subjects"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Niynemets] You said tanks, is that realistic?

[Savisaar] We must abandon our illusions that everything is permitted and permissible in our country. There are limits to what is permitted, although these limits are gradually widening. We have not been touched hitherto only because there are hotter spots in other regions of the country. As soon as we approach the crisis danger line, we will be dealt with accordingly. Extremists are already conducting preliminary psychological preparations to ensure that we see tanks (and everything that goes with them) as inevitable. T. Kelam even believes that "nothing will change with the appearance of tanks on the streets" and contrives to see in this some benefit which will allegedly make it possible to display more clearly the abiding value and continuity of our aspirations. I think that the 300,000 people on the Song Festival Grounds demonstrated this more graphically than tanks on the streets.

In the same edition of LOOMING, M. Raun says that it is all in fact the same—both when the tanks stand outside the city in formation and when they rumble through the streets—because "martial law has been in force in our republic since 1940." It is not worth bandying words when you do not know the meaning of "martial law" in a state, even in the eighties. Ask Kh. Aasmyae, he was in Tbilisi and can talk about this.

K. Kam is more in the grip of arrogance than the others and deems it necessary to tell us that the "imposition of martial law in Estonia does not pose a danger to the physical existence of the nation. At the worst we may suffer the fate of the forcible deportation of up to 200,000 people. Despite the enormity of the action of deportation and despite the fact that the best part of the Estonians would suffer that fate, it is not fatal to the flesh of the nation—the gene pool would remain and the people's spiritual potential would be restored in two generations" (VIKERKAAR, No. 5). A splendid consolation! Only agreement must be reached with those 200,000 people beforehand as to whether they agree with the policy that dooms them to deportation and destruction. The citizens' committees could have already begun compiling lists of people who don't mind ending up under tank tracks and leaving their homes and relatives. We must be consistent to the last! But it is hard to make everyone a fanatic. People want to live, love, and see a future, rather than go round in circles, hating everything around them.

In 50 years the Estonian people have not lost their ability to learn from history. People know that a great deal changes with the coming of tanks. Disagreements begin within the nation, along with mutual recriminations and quests for culprits. Many people lose their sense of perspective. The presence of tanks on the streets of Prague for several months brought the entire people to such despair that they have not escaped from it to this day. A great deal of evil can befall millions of people who have lost their will to resist, turn to drink, lapse into despondency, and hide their fists in their pockets. We can really put a stop to migration today whereas under different circumstances we would not have the requisite levers of power. It would suffice to install a dozen major plants, just as in the period of stagnation, it would be sufficient to resettle another 200,000-300,000 strangers on Estonian soil and the question of the nation's existence would be resolved quite unequivocally.

Extremists are clearly striving for confrontation with superior forces, against whom they have no chance of victory. The consequences of this confrontation benefit

both the Estonian National Independence Party [ENIP] (this confirms once again their conviction that the USSR refuses to consider the aspirations of the Estonian people) and the conservative wing of the Estonian Communist Party, which stands in very great need of arguments like "they will immediately attempt to leave the USSR." These and others need the aura of unshakable fighters, some in the struggle for their own statehood, and others in the struggle for the integrity of the union. By spurring on the Estonian people, above all young people, to face the tanks, the ENIP wants to show the whole world that we are martyrs. Young people are offered the prospect of future martyrdom. There is no other interpretation of this policy. The Estonian People's Front [EPF] cannot afford martyrdom as a prospect, we see the future differently.

[Niynemets] During our conversation we have already touched on T. Kelam's interview in the May edition of LOOMING. What is your overall assessment of it?

[Savisaar] It is an interesting piece in that it enables one to gain an understanding of the ideology of the ENIP and its supporters. Of course, it renders the ENIP more vulnerable because we previously knew something about the party only from individual political proclamations and we were unable to analyze the ideological core. An in-depth analysis of T. Kelam's interview still lies ahead, I will only make certain comments regarding the ideas which attracted particular attention.

First, a word about the **schizophrenia of the situation in Estonia.**

If that is the situation, it means that any developed society suffers from schizophrenia. There have always been clashes between pragmatists and idealists. Charges of "compromising with reality" are leveled not only against us but also against Estonian businessmen abroad who maintain ties with their native land, thus, as it were, betraying the idea of the fight for freedom. In any society pragmatism comes into conflict with extreme ideological commitment.

Second, **a desperate leap across the abyss is necessary. All forces must be massed for this.**

No reasonable man who finds himself on the edge of an abyss will jump without being sure he can really reach the other side. One has to do a bit of work, find a narrower spot, and build a bridge before making such a leap. And think whether it is worth rushing. No one is chasing us. It was the same in 1939-1940, in 1944, and in 1949—but for some reason we did not jump unthinkingly across the abyss, if it is really that simple. The Estonian people have learned to live under practically possible conditions, they are not naked and hunted. The dangers which threaten them are not fatal and they can defend themselves even when on standing on the edge.

Third: **The current situation is like tramping on the spot in a swamp; we have to escape from the swamp and only the restoration of the continuity of our own statehood based on piles driven into the deepest possible legal foundation will save us.**

Piles cannot be driven into a swamp, we do not know what surprises lurk in a quagmire. But generally speaking, the Estonian people never scorned swamps and forests and always found ways out of them. Even our broad feet have been adapted by life for walking through swamps. It is safer like that, although not always more comfortable.

Fourth: **Collaborationism and cooperation with oppressors or occupiers are characteristic of the Estonian intelligentsia.**

It is not a question of whether the country is occupied or not or whether one can cooperate or not. Life must be lived and we must tackle questions of economic and social development every day irrespective of what power is in place. Palestinians' local authorities work on Israeli-occupied territories and do so successfully—the living standard of the Arabs there has doubled or trebled in the last decade. Even 'Arafat does not take the risk of describing this power and cooperation within its framework as collaborationism.

Fifth: **The impetus for the creation of the People's Front came from Moscow.**

If the impetus for the People's Front came from Moscow, where did the impetus for the ENIP and the Estonian Christian Union come from?... From Washington or the Vatican? It is also T. Kelam's duty to warn the Lithuanian and Latvian public that "Sajudis" and Tautas Fronte are Moscow's puppets in the Baltic. But then whose puppet is Moscow's own People's Front?

[Niynemets] ENIP ideology is based on the supposition that the empire will collapse in the very near future and we will escape from this position unscathed. Are such hopes justified?

[Savisaar] If the empire is on the point of collapse, there is no point at all in embarking on a bayonet attack. We should not wish the Estonian people to suffer the fate of a soldier who dies on the last day of the war.

All the arguments concerning the imminent collapse of the empire are built on sand. A nuclear state does not collapse because no serious political force in the world is interested in this. No one wants to share that harvest. The destruction of a nuclear state is a catastrophe equivalent to the destruction of Atlantis—it is dangerous and unpredictable in terms of its consequences for the entire world. The catastrophe is its internal affair. No one from outside will take a hand in it. No one will touch the domestic interests of a nuclear state. On the contrary, the surrounding countries are interested in ensuring that

a catastrophe does not take place and are prepared to offer economic and political aid to ensure this. This is not only reflected at government level, voters demands this of Western politicians. Only individual insignificant groupings there seek to destabilize the situation in the USSR, but they do not determine the final political decisions.

By aggravating tension we will only achieve the opposite international effect. Our steps are now regarded as well considered and responsible, but tension may change world public opinion about us and render it unfavorable. Western countries regard us as provinces under the jurisdiction of a central power, and if a province revolts, the center is naturally obliged to suppress the rebellion.

It is no good drawing parallels with the collapse of the Russian Empire. It collapsed as a result of a protracted war. By contrast, the USSR withdrew from Afghanistan in good time. In 1917-1918, influential forces in Germany were interested in plunder and the internal contradictions within the empire were fundamentally different from today's.

[Niynemets] Let us clarify once again your attitude to the citizens' committees. Do they represent a solution to the current situation?

[Savisaar] At first the essence of the citizens' committees was not clear to me. Everyone involved in them had their own say. Some claim that it is a matter of the harmless registration of the bourgeois republic's citizens and their descendants, while others claim that they are creating alternative organs of power, that is, they are deliberately taking an anticonstitutional path. The appeal from the Provisional Committee on Links clearly stated that it is not only a matter of establishing citizenship but also of creating alternative organs of power which will make decisions concerning their own statehood and conduct negotiations on this topic with foreign states. We must not bury our heads in the sand and say that we support registration for citizens but oppose the convocation of an Estonian Congress as an alternative organ of power. One is tied up with the other. I say that the Estonian people's aspirations cannot be brought to fruition through the confrontation inherent in the citizens' committees. If we achieve anything it will only be via democratization in the USSR and favorable public opinion about us.

[Niynemets] What is to be done?

[Savisaar] First, we must implement Estonian self-management [IME]. We thus reorient our economy and will create a barrier to unionwide destructive processes, halt migration, and introduce state control of people's movement to Estonia. We must put the economy to rights. Imagine a situation where we leave the USSR amid a hail of abuse and thus lose our main business partner, who is at liberty not to trade with us. We are not ready for this and we would find ourselves on our knees on the world market.

Second, we must hold as free and democratic elections to the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet and local soviets as soon as possible. If the elections are, as we hope, free and democratic, we will as a result have a parliament and a government with the mandate and trust of the people. A democratically elected parliament will adopt a law on citizenship and register citizens in a trustworthy fashion as befits a state. The parliament will then discuss and adopt a law on referendums, and here it will be natural for Estonian SSR citizens (T. Veliste voiced constructive proposals on questions of citizenship in KODUMAA for 28 June) to express their wishes with regard to the problem of self-determination. Depending on the speed at which a referendum is prepared, in my opinion, it could be held in 1990 or early 1991. That is the real way to implement the principle of self-determination.

The Estonian Communist Party leadership is seeking to hold parliamentary elections only next spring. The Estonian Communist Party's endeavor to postpone changes also brought about a number of political mistakes. The permanent all-union parliament will overload us with countless normative documents in the next few months and if we do not have a permanent Supreme Soviet we will not withstand the onslaught, since the work of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is going slowly in the legislative area. It would be premature to hold elections to the local soviets this fall, since territorial divisions are to be reformed early next year. It is pointless to create local soviets based on the old structure for 18 months and then to reelect them.

[Niynemets] Why does the ENIP oppose such approaches and seek other opportunities to boost its political prestige?

[Savisaar] The ENIP does not trust free parliamentary elections since it has no confidence in their results. It is more convenient to introduce multi-stage selection of suitable candidates for the Congress of Estonia and strive to adopt the requisite decisions there. The spring elections of USSR people's deputies indicated that the people will not follow extreme movements. The ENIP called for these elections to be boycotted but the boycott flopped. As is well known, the election turnout was very high. The interpretation that T. Kelam is now trying to place on this is that the people did not allow themselves to be intimidated by bellicose "Inters" [International Movement members] and therefore voted for the Communists. But, first, the people did not vote for all the Communists. Those defeated at the elections included two members of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, a deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers, a secretary of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and so on. The people supported those who are implementing an active policy of renewal. Second, the Estonian people have demonstrated quite clearly that they will not allow themselves to be intimidated by "Inters."

The piece that we are discussing here at such length is characterized on the whole by disregard for the people, and a bitter subtext can be glimpsed in places: The people are unworthy of us adamant fighters. The people are allegedly characterized by maniacal outbursts in defense of IME (M. Raun); those of the people who are not members of the Communist Party are "marked men" (T. Kelam); collaborationism and so on is a characteristic trait of this people. This people must, in the opinion of such individuals, be reeducated to rid them of opportunistic morality so that they finally realize the reality of moral purity and ethical clarity. The people must be molded so that they conform with prescribed ideals (ranging from the ENIP, Communism, and Peronism to fascism).

That is a simple solution which has frequently been employed in history, but nothing sensible has yet come of it. The people are what they are despite all the attempts of ideological fighters, whatever party they belong to.

[Niynemets] Criticism of extremes will undoubtedly arouse serious objections. Are you ready for them?

[Savisaar] I have kept quiet for a long time, but attacks by extreme radicals on the EPF have become more frequent of late. They culminated in issue No 5 of LOOMING. The plans voiced in the articles by T. Kelam and M. Raun lack realism. The idea of the citizens' committees is tempting, but it is too simple and attractive to be the solution to our problems. Something new cannot be begun unless you have thought out the aims and tasks of the movement itself, and the people must not be disunited and their strength and energy must not channeled into problems which will not determine the future of Estonia (specialists, rather than a people's movement, are needed for strictly juridical debates). There is a consistently mounting illusion that independence is merely a juridical question and that the USSR is on the point of collapse. The idea of the restoration of Estonian's independence is devalued and dissipated on trifling political passions of the day for the sake of narrow interests.

"Oh, lads, if these things were so easy, we would have done them ourselves long ago," I was told recently by a peasant pensioner from Saaremaa who had endured the war and prison.

Estonian People's Front Member Interviewed

PM0708155489 Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 5 Aug 89 p 5

[Report on interview with Estonian People's Front committee member Rein Ruutsoo by Bjarne Nitovuori: "Estonia: 'People's Front Victory in Free Elections'"—date and place not given]

[Text] Estonia (and the other Baltic nations) are "competing" with Hungary to be the first to arrange completely free parliamentary elections in a socialist country. It is still unclear when the elections will take place—this fall or next year.

Rein Ruutsoo, research historian and member of the Estonian People's Front committee, has his money on elections for the new Estonian parliament next year.

"The People's Front wants elections this fall, because the country now needs a functioning parliament because of the reform legislation currently facing it. But the Communist Party is applying the brakes and is trying to postpone the elections. It fears a result similar to that in Poland—namely, that the People's Front will take all the seats," Ruutsoo said.

"And there can be no doubt that the People's Front will win a majority," he said.

The new Estonian electoral laws, which have still not been approved, mean that the right to nominate candidates will no longer be the monopoly of the party or registered organizations. It will be enough to have 300 signatures.

Most recently the work on the election laws has been delayed by the strike that the International Movement organized a few weeks ago at factories with a preponderance of Russian-speaking employees. One of the strike's goals was to protest the plans to limit the right to vote and the right to be elected of people who have recently moved to Estonia.

The strike will have some effect, in Ruutsoo's view. The idea behind the original draft legislation was to guarantee that those who know the situation in the country and work there should decide its future. Under the old system, a person who had moved to Estonia the day before from some other part of the Soviet Union had a right to vote in Estonia.

"According to the draft legislation, the right to vote requires 3 years' residence and the right to be elected requires 15 years. As a result of the strike action, however, this will probably be changed so that all permanent residents will have immediate voting rights and those who have been resident for 10 years can be nominated as candidates. This means that temporary residents, people in military service and so on—a total of 200,000-300,000 people—will not have the right to vote," Ruutsoo said.

At the end of July, the Supreme Soviet in Moscow gave the go-ahead for economic independence for Estonia. This decision is of enormous significance for the political situation in the country.

It has brought the People's Front closer to the Communist Party. At the same time, some of the wind has been taken out of the Independence Party's sails.

The Independence Party has taken the line that Estonia is an independent country that was occupied by the Soviet Union. In recent months the party has worked on forming local and regional committees, which will send

representatives to a national congress. According to the plans, the congress will state that Estonia is an independent country and appoint bodies to govern the country.

"If IME (the program for Estonian economic independence) had failed, this would have been a serious setback for the People's Front's line, which aims at dialogue with the Communist Party," Ruutsoo said.

The People's Front also considers the country to be occupied and supports an independent Estonia. But the Independence Party's arguments are merely moral and legal; they do not take any account of political realities, Ruutsoo pointed out.

However, he did not entirely condemn the Independence Party's congress plans. A congress could have a positive effect when it comes to making the Communist Party accept completely free elections. It would force the party to ensure that the new parliament will really be a democratic and representative body. One of the arguments behind the action is that Estonia's Supreme Soviet is not a representative body.

This spring the Independence Party backed a boycott of the Soviet parliamentary elections, since these were the elections of the occupying power.

"If that line had won general support, it would have destroyed the IME program, for example, for then we would have had no representatives in Moscow to support and promote the program," Ruutsoo said.

The Estonian Communist Party has not been an independent Estonian party, but part of the CPSU. Now a development toward federalization is taking place and the party is in the process of acquiring its own national program.

In its approximately 1-year existence, the People's Front has been the driving force and the party has found itself a step or two behind. Now the party and the People's Front follow the same line on economic questions. They are divided over attitudes to independence, but it is possible that soon not even this issue will divide them.

However, in Ruutsoo's view, the Communist Party is still needed as a link with Moscow and to keep the conservatives in check. Ruutsoo himself belongs to the same so-called Czechoslovakia generation as current People's Front leaders Marju Lauristin and Rein Veidemann, who joined the party in the sixties to "conquer" it, since it was impossible to form a new party.

As long as the Communist Party—according to the Constitution's sixth article—has the leading role in society and this article continues to have meaning, we cannot leave so important a weapon in the hands of those who only want to function as Moscow's tool, Ruutsoo said.

Estonia Removes Ceiling on Pensioners' Earnings

PM1108102189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Report by own correspondent L. Levitskiy under the "Republic Governments" rubric: "Pension Without Ceiling"]

[Text] Tallinn—The Estonian Council of Ministers has abolished all restrictions on pensioners' earnings.

"Around 100,000 pensioners continue to work in the republic's national economy. The size of the pensions is, unfortunately, such that many of them are unable to remain at home and fully enjoy their right to well deserved retirement. But the republic is not yet able to do without the veterans. One worker in ten is a pensioner," Estonian Social Security Minister G. Sari said, commenting on the republic Council of Ministers resolution.

"The former restrictions on the size of earnings encroached upon the interests of pensioners and society as a whole," he went on. "I have in mind the 'ceilings' that were set: The size of the pensions and earnings of workers and foremen should not exceed R300, with a figure of R150 for employees. Otherwise the pension was automatically cut by the sum in excess of the 'ceiling.' The veteran was thus harshly punished for his productive labor. There was simply no point in his making the effort.

"Now, from this month on, economically accountable enterprises and organizations are entitled to drop the previous bans and pay the full pension whatever the pensioner's earnings. As of 1 October, the restrictions are also abolished for employees and workers in the nonproduction sphere—health care, culture, public education, and other budget-financed institutions. As of 1 September, third-category invalids will also receive a full pension whatever their earnings."

Funds are necessary to make the resolution of the republic Council of Ministers work. Where will they come from?

"Economically accountable enterprises have to find the money themselves—from the labor remuneration fund or the material incentive fund," Deputy Finance Minister V. Aron explained. "Although it cannot be ruled out either that a collective that is not working too well will want to cut down on pensioners. In budget-financed organizations the extra payment will come out of the social security fund. That is, out of the republic budget.

"The Estonian Council of Ministers has recently adopted a number of measures to improve the material position and life of pensioners and invalids. Here people do not wait for acute social problems to be tackled centrally—at the same time countrywide."

Situation in Abkhaziya 'Tense' 13 Aug

LD1408100189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 14 Aug 89

[Text] The temporary press center of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry in Abkhaziya reports: On Sunday [13 August] the situation in the autonomous republic remained tense. Two crimes were committed and both were investigated. The Internal Affairs Ministry bodies together with internal troop subunits are continuing to confiscate arms. A total of more than 2,000 weapons as well as more than 1,200 explosives have been confiscated since the beginning of the events. In Abkhaziya most labor collectives were in operation. Normal traffic was ensured on motor roads. In Sukhumi, public railway, water, and air transport was in operation. The situation in the autonomous republic is being monitored by party, local soviet, and law enforcement bodies.

Further on Situation

LD1208083989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 12 Aug 89

[From the "Soyuz" program]

[Text] The USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs' temporary press center in Abkhaziya reports:

A tense situation continued in the autonomous republic in the last 24 hours. In Ochamchirskiy Rayon, 38 enterprises, organizations, state and collective farms were not operating. In the village of Ilori in the same rayon, a group of local residents continued a hunger strike.

Internal affairs bodies are confiscating weapons from the population. During the night of 11 August, 112 people were detained for violating the regulations governing movement in the special regime for conduct by citizens. Five crimes were reported in the 24-hour period by the criminal investigation department; three of them have been solved.

The majority of enterprises, institutions, organizations and collective and state farms were operating. Normal road transportation was ensured. The situation in the Abkhaz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic is being monitored by party, local soviet, and law-enforcement bodies.

Observer Lvov Views Clashes

LD1108124589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0847 GMT 11 Aug 89

["The Soviet Transcaucasus: Events of the Week (Review)"—TASS headline]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 11 Aug (TASS)—Observer Aleksey Lvov writes:

Questions of interethnic relations have become one of the central problems of the country's internal political life these days. [passage omitted]

There have already been reports of the clashes between Georgians and Abkhaziyans (Abkhaziya is an autonomous republic which is part of Georgia). The heat of passions in Abkhaziya which led a few weeks ago to human losses, is gradually cooling. However, to this very day the situation is still complex sometimes. In the past week the forces of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs have confiscated a significant number of firearms. In Abkhaziya the collectives of a number of enterprises are continuing to strike, and in the village of Ilori, Ochamchira Rayon, 21 people have gone on hunger strike.

Local soviet and party bodies of the Transcaucasus are continuing the pain-staking work of elucidating and eliminating the reasons for the aggravation of relations between nationalities. In particular, the details of the unrest in the capital of Georgia, Tbilisi, which led on 9 April to clashes with troops and to the deaths of people, are being investigated. The investigative subcommission of the Georgian Supreme Soviet (parliament) has given its conclusion. It says in it that at the unauthorized rally which took place that day the demand was put forward for Georgia to leave the composition of the Soviet Union. However, the meeting "had a peaceful character and was not connected with violence which presented a danger of citizen's life and health nor with the threat of using violence to overthrow Soviet power." In the opinion of the subcommission, the leadership of the republic erroneously evaluated the sociopolitical processes in progress in Georgia. Therefore, the decision of the Government of Georgia on putting an end to the meeting with the involvement of military subunits has been deemed an illegal act. Those who are guilty of this, in the opinion of the subcommission, must be prosecuted. Let us recall, in this connection, that a higher commission formed by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, is carrying out a similar investigation. [passage omitted]

Day of Mourning Announced for Abkhaziya Victims

LD2507212589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] A TASS correspondent reports from Zugdidi. On the buildings in the town flags with black ribbons are flying. A day of mourning has been announced in the republic in memory of the sorrowful happenings that took place in Abkhaziya on 15 and 16 July. People are sincerely grieving for those who perished. The conflict that has been created is being heatedly discussed. The activists of the numerous informal organizations are taking advantage of this; their leaders do not let any opportunity slip for destabilizing the situation. Often the tragedy that occurred in Sukhumi remains disregarded. The same slogans that have been exciting the young

people of the region—and incidentaly other places in the republic as well—for several months now still resound: freedom and independence for Georgia.

In the town the shops are open, the public transport and the overwhelming majority of the enterprises are operating. Only at the china factory and the machine-building works are the work places empty. True, for the better part of the working day the labor collectives are idle. For several days now there have been stoppages in supplies of electricity. At the town's party committee it was reported that this has possibly occurred because pickets had taken control of the Inguri hydorelectric power station. The situation is extremely tense, said the first secretary of the town's party committee, (Pitiya). I would particularly like to stress that the situation that has been created here is not just the problem of Zugdidi, but of the entire republic.

Abkhaz Obkom Plenum Makes Cadre Changes

PM1008101889 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 23 Jul 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Abkhaz Georgian Communist Party Obkom Plenum"]

[Text] A plenum of the Abkhaz Georgian Communist Party Oblast Committee [obkom], held in Sukhumi yesterday [22 July], adopted an Appeal to Primary Organizations, Communists, and All Working People of the Abkhaz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR]. It stresses that the Georgian and Abkhaz peoples have always been noted for their good will, mutual respect, and willingness to help one another, and that through the ages they have been linked by fraternal and kinship bonds. And these values must not be sacrificed to ambition through disregard for the two people's true interests.

The plenum participants called on every Communist—from the veteran to the young party member—to recognize his full moral responsibility for normalizing and improving the sociopolitical situation in the autonomous republic. Party organizations, party committees, and all Communists, in close contact with the working people, should find unorthodox methods of working with people and develop a style of activity more appropriate to the present day. It is the duty of party organizations to make a principled assessment of the actions of those who try to kindle interethnic discord.

The appeal expresses confidence that the Communists and working people of Abkhaziya, true to their party and civic duty, will show great activeness, devote all their efforts and energy to consolidating healthy forces, and establish lasting peace and tranquillity in this ancient land.

The plenum examined organizational questions. The plenum released Comrade M.A. Tsuladze from his duties as second secretary and S.R. Tarkil from his duties as secretary of the party obkom, and dropped them from the obkom bureau. The plenum released Comrades V.O. Kobakhiya, O.G. Zikhbaya, V.M. Tsukba, and Z.D. Yerkvaniya from their duties as members of the party obkom bureau.

Comrade L.Ya. Khaburzaniya, formerly a member of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee apparatus, was elected second secretary and bureau member of the Abkhaz party obkom; Comrade V.D. Avidzba was elected secretary and bureau member of the obkom. Comrade G.A. Anchabadze, secretary and bureau member of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Abkhaz ASSR Council of Ministers, and Comrade V.T. Mikanba, first deputy chairman of the Abkhaz ASSR Council of Ministers, were elected members of the party obkom bureau.

A speech was delivered at the plenum by Comrade G.G. Gumbaridze, first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee.

Thousands Rally in Azerbaijan, Call for Strike

AU1308132689 Paris AFP in English 1032 GMT 13 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, Aug 13 (AFP)—Some 80,000 people demonstrated Saturday in Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan where two Armenians were killed in ethnic clashes on August 3 and renewed calls for a general strike in the republic Monday morning, one of the organizers said Sunday.

The demonstrators, who rallied for two hours, also demanded new elections for all the deputies from Azerbaijan who, they said, were not voted in democratically last March, according to Iossif Hamed Ugli, who was contacted by telephone.

He said other demands included ending the curfew imposed to control ethnic clashes, dropping charges against some 20 jailed Azeri nationalists and increasing the economic and political autonomy of the mainly Moslem republic.

Alla Mustafaev, a representative of Azerbaijan television, said the problem of Nagorny Karabakh was not raised during the demonstration.

This autonomous region within Azerbaijan has been at the heart of much of the ethnic tension. Its Christian Armenian majority wants the region attached to neighboring Armenia.

Mr. Ugli, however, said his association, which calls itself the Initiative Group for a Popular Front and is pushing for legal recognition, could never accept this.

"The Azeris will never accept losing a centimeter of their territory," he said, insisting that "Nagorny Karabakh was never Armenian".

It was the third Saturday in a row that such a demonstration was held. The decision to call a general strike was taken at the August 5 march that gathered 50,000 people.

Mr. Ugli said two more Azeris were killed in Shusha and a woman critically wounded in Baku on Tuesday.

He said neither the official press nor the local media reported the incidents, but that his group had photographs and videotapes to prove them.

The last officially reported deaths were those of two Armenians killed in Baku on August 3 in ethnic clashes during which one Azeri was knifed and several houses set on fire.

Aganbegyan Discusses Armenian Economic Revival

Calls for Free Economic Zone

NC1208173089 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1615 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Part one of three-part interview with Academician Abel Aganbegyan, head of a USSR Academy of Sciences commission to revive the Armenian economy after the earthquake, by Artanvil Grigoryan; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Grigoryan] Tell us first about your commission's mission.

[Aganbegyan] At the initiative of a group of scientists, a commission was set up within the USSR Academy of Sciences in Moscow to assist the republic in restoring the settlements destroyed in Armenia, in socioeconomic development, and in improving the ecological situation. I was asked to head this commission, which includes Armenian academicians and appropriate members of the academy and directors of industrial enterprises and research institutes that are closely associated with Armenia. We have already drawn up a series of measures in cooperation with the Armenian Academy of Sciences, the State Committee for Construction Affairs, the State Committee for the Protection of the Environment, and other organizations. Our visit to the disaster area, the Lake Sevan basin, and (?Zangezour) will be of benefit in our future work. Armenian experts are closely cooperating with us. Our efforts are directed at the future development of the republic, the speedy restoration of settlement areas, [words indistinct] distinctive economic features, and, finally, the creation of a free economic zone.

[Grigoryan] What would be the features of a free economic zone and what place would it have in Soviet economic policy?

[Aganbegyan] In those regions that are declared free economic zones, an independent income tax system is introduced. The most favorable conditions are created for cooperation with foreign firms with regards to the entrance and exit of foreign nationals, a reduction of taxes on joint enterprises, and tariffs. The foreign firms are allowed to rent land and natural resources. Favorable conditions are created for the establishment of scientific-technical associations [words indistinct] and the leasing of transportation means. For example, Zvartnots, which is on a par with international airports, could be used for international freight flights, which could provide benefits. Free economic zones offer many opportunities to international business and different firms are readily investing their capital. Joint factories, enterprises, the service sector, free trade, lease of mines, natural resources, labor, scientific-technical progress—this is only an incomplete list of the benefits of cooperation.

As far as the place of a free economic zone in the Soviet Union's economic policy is concerned, the creation of such a zone is in full accord with our country's economic [words indistinct] strategy. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo has taken a principled stand on the expediency of creating free economic zones in the USSR. Relevant instructions have been given to the Council of Ministers. Therefore, the creation of free economic zones complement the decisions of the CPSU and the government.

This is a major watershed in our ties with foreign countries. In the past, the Foreign Trade Ministry handled 90 percent of our country's imports and exports, over which it had a virtual monopoly and in which industrial enterprises had no direct involvement. In brief, our economy was isolated. Here are some facts: Only 6 percent of our national income was derived from exports and, despite our strong industrial base, our share of international trade was a mere 4 percent, which is similar to that of small countries. Foreign trade in industrial goods was particularly badly organized. The Netherlands, [name indistinct], and even South Korea had a larger share in the international trade in ready-made goods than our huge country. The structure of both our exports and our imports is definitely inefficient and (?unjust). Two-thirds of our exports consist of raw materials; basically [word indistinct] is imported. Now we want to change our foreign economic relations, we want to introduce a new system by taking into account the views of those who want to cooperate with us. Negotiations are taking place on setting up a free economic zones on the Soviet-Finnish border and in the far east of the country. At present, however, there are no definite drafts or plans for the organization of such zones.

[Grigoryan] How is the situation in Armenia? What conditions and characteristics are envisaged in this case?

[Aganbegyan] Armenia has several features that could enable it to become the first among the Soviet republics to introduce free economic zones. First of all, there is the need to restore the earthquake-stricken area. Second, while Armenians are dispersed all over the world because of their historical fate, they are very attached to the motherland and could bring energy to the restoration

work and they have expressed their readiness for multisided cooperation. Foreign firms also expressed their serious intention to establish economic ties after the earthquake. During my contacts abroad, many foreign businesses have expressed an interest in Armenia and a readiness to cooperate. All this helps in the creation of a free economic zone. Of course, there are also impediments. Most of the industries in Armenia are unproductive and will find themselves in a difficult situation under restructuring. They must be dissolved and reorganized. Furthermore, some cadres, too, are not ready for foreign economic activity. In this regard, Armenia has lagged behind considerably compared to other regions. The transportation infrastructure is deplorable. Armenia has no direct outlet to the outside world from its own territory. This must be resolved in agreement with another republic, so a transportation corridor for the free zone can be opened. Possibly this could be to Poti or Baku, with the prospect of opening free ports there. It is natural that such problems will arise. It is true that Armenia's economy and infrastructure have been severely distorted, that different regions of the republic have developed at a different pace, and that the ecology problem [word indistinct]. Yet these impediments should not create pessimism. With the free enterprise zone, certain problems can be resolved gradually, an overall economic upswing secured, the ecological situation improved, and, above all, the requirements of the people met.

[Grigorayn] What are the experiences of other countries with free economic zones? Can you give an example?

[Aganbegyan] Some (?80) countries have such zones, although there are certain differences among them. The most outstanding example is China. A group of such zones has been created over the last 7 years and has worked amazingly well, thus confirming the necessity of taking these steps. For example, the city of (Chensen) has been built near Hong Kong with 50- and 60-story buildings. One can say that the Chinese are the forerunners in establishing free economic zones under conditions of socialism. They have cleverly found a way to establish economic sovereignty over a free economic zone. Unlike China, where the zones have been created to obtain foreign currency, our zones will serve to satisfy demand. Therefore, they must be closely integrated and in harmony with regional economic accountability and the republic's progress toward economic independence. This integration is very important and must be seriously studied and planned for. This will take into consideration all of Armenia's characteristics. There will be one zone and it will expand. It will develop along with the productive forces. For example, Yerevan and Kafan are different on every score and so there should be different enterprises in these areas. Large-scale purposeful work on this is already being done in Armenia.

Discusses Foreign Trade

NC1208203089 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1600 GMT

[Part two of three-part interview with Academician Abel Aganbegyan, head of a USSR Academy of Sciences commission to revive the Armenian economy after the earthquake, by Artanvil Grigoryan; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Grigoryan] In our previous conversation, you stressed the need to harmonize the free economic zone with the republic's economic independence. Isn't the attainment of such independence difficult? What impediments must we overcome?

[Aganbegyan] Of course it is difficult. The fact is that different economic parts of the Soviet Union are closely connected with each other; there is a reciprocal supply of raw materials and manufactured goods. First of all, such ties should be reduced as far as possible; that is raw material sources should be searched for closer to home and specific necessary manufactured goods should be produced locally instead of being brought from afar. Thus, only the so-called monopoly resources and certain manufactured goods whose exchange could be regulated will remain in circulation. So, the centralized management of these economies is an enormous impediment on the way to the economic independence of the republics and regions. Administrative-command methods are peculiar to this system. Reciprocal economic benefit should replace the arbitrariness of the bureaucrats as the major lever for development and economic ties. Considerable steps have already been taken in this direction in our country. In line with the Supreme Soviet decision, 25 union ministries have already been dissolved. I think this is only the beginning, considering that more than 50 ministries and state committees still exist. Other guidelines and measures must be worked out to dissolve them or liberate them from administartive-command instructions. An industrial market, a monetary market, an investment market, a currency market, and so on must be created and the economy should be managed without the ministries. Probably only those ministries that supply raw materials should remain.

As regards the foreign trade strategy, our starting point should be to penetrate gradaully the international division of labor and become an integral part of the international market and international economic management. As you may remeber, during our previous conversation I mentioned how insignificant our huge country's role is in international trade. In order to alter this state of affairs it is necessary to decentralize our foreign trade. As of 1 April of this year, all enterprises, organizations, and cooperatives obtained the right to hold foreign currency and to engage in export and import activity, albeit with the permission of the Foreign Trade Ministry. In international practice, the acquisition of such permission is generally an ordinary thing. What is not ordinary is that in our country the issuing of permits is the responsibility

of a ministry that itself is engaged in foreign trade relations and thus naturally seeks to protect its privileges by spurning the advice of experts. For this very reason the requirement for such a permission is at present a serious impediment on the road to broadening foreign trade relations. However, I think that it will be possible to surmount this, as was the case [word indistinct], that tainted cadre. Nevertheless, at present foreign trade ties are being developed more broadly and speedily then ever before.

The creation of joint enterprises is also expanding. It was formerly stipulated that 51 percent of the capital input in joint enterprises should be Soviet, that Soviet regulations should be applied for leasing and wages, and that the Soviet side should be in control. Now these disturbing elements are being revised; to be more correct, we lifted these restrictions as of 1 February. Now the foreign capital input need not be 49 percent but just any ratio desired. Joint enterprises can be administered by foreign citizens. They have freedom of action as regards leasing and wages. The effects of such changes of the system are readily apparent. Under the former conditions only 200 joint enterprises were created over 2 years; now because of these changes 100 joint enterprises are being formed in the Soviet Union each month. Their number already exceeds 700, of which 500 have been set up since January. The bodies and organizations regulating the formation of joint enterprise are hard pressed to fulfill their duties because there are several thousand applications. The creation of these joint enterprises is benefiting the regions and republics, helping to consolidate economic independence, and moving us toward economic accountability. The free trade zone is essentially the development of regional economic accountabilty through the attraction of foreign currency; that is a higher stage of economic accountability.

[Grigoryan] Are there no other serious impediments to the creation of a free trade zone in the future? Is it only the details that have to be worked out?

[Aganbegyan] [Word indistinct] details. Unfortunately, there are also other impediments, such as the existence of ministries that regulate the raw material supply network. I should also single out the noncovertability of the ruble. Payment in foreign currency is necessary. Progress is being made in this direction and a currency market should be created in the country phase by phase. Next, a so-called currency exchange market should be created. We have started to change the official exchange rate of the ruble, which had meant nothing. Starting next year, it will increase by 100 percent and from 1991 onward it will more or less attain its real exchange value. In any case, we have adopted a policy of increased exchange rate for the ruble in the domestic market. Thus, enterprises, organizations, and cooperatives will be able to exchange rubles in our banks at rates fixed by the government. As to the ruble's real exchange rate, more measures are needed after our goods become competitive on the world market. The exchange of the ruble could probably become a reality in the next 5 years. Anyway, this is not only an economic issue, but a political one as well. The exchange of the ruble will be a protection of the stipulations of the Vienna agreements signed by our country, since a person's rights can also be safeguarded when he can exchange his money for foreign currency and is able to easily leave the country and return. The major difficulty is the rate of exchange. Of course, one could demand the highest exchange rate, but for that to happen one must work harder. As regards the concrete value of the ruble in foreign markets, this problem could possibly be resolved at the end of the century. It is planned to expand significantly the rights of our enterprises starting from 1991 as regards (?transfers) on the international market. Our manufacturers will be allowed to buy foreign enterprises, open branches abroad, buy bonds, and work in the [word indistinct] of foreign countries. They will be given other rights that are nonexistent in other countries. On the subject of other impediments on the road to economic independence, let us also mention the need for the adoption of laws on the economic independence of the republic. Such laws must clearly define the rights of the republic and of the whole country.

[Grigoryan] Suppose we passed the necessary legal measures to introduce the necessary administrative changes. Will that be enough to declare the republic a free economic zone and to start acting?

[Aganbegyan] It would probably be premature to make such a declaration. As for action, we have already started acting, albeit not the action implied in your question. The free zone is a far more difficult and responsible job then, say, solving the housing problem. A serious job requires serious preparatory work. The issue is not unequivocal. Three expert group created in Armenia are working together to formulate the teritorial economic accountability plans for the republic. This is being done on the basis of existing all-union experience. For its part, our commission in Moscow is assisting in this work. The complex situation arising after the earthquake necessitates a review of our plans. The disaster area cannot perform as it did before. The destroyed settlements must be restored and the entire economy revived. To do this, one must examine the facts and formulate a plan that must above all stipulate the development of scientifically sound, ecologically clean, and socially meaningful production in accordance with human needs and wellbeing. Our meetings with Armenian experts, close acquaintance with economic circles, and the debate at the Academy of Sciences helped draft an outline of this plan. This part of the job must be concluded by October and then the plan should be submitted for popular consideration, a unanimous plan should be adopted, and a center should be set up to deal with economic accountability and problems of free enterprise zone. The manner of implementation of the free zone idea, the phases we have to go through, their relation to the problems of the restoration of the earthquake areas, and the immediate steps to be taken to accelerate the restoration timetable are highly important

issues. In short, we must clearly have in our mind our possibilities for the eventual passage to territorial economic accountability and a free zone. The zone to be created in Armenia will have its own characteristics in view of the fact that problems facing the republic are themselves peculiar. Foreign experts and diaspora Armenians might be enlisted to clarify basic pivotal problems.

[Grigoryan] Will the preliminary phase of the plan be concluded by all these measures or are other initiatives still required in addition to the adoption of legal measures and solving organizational and planning problems?

[Aganbegyan] Naturally the starting phase of the job will not be accomplished by just these measures and other initiatives are necessary for the [word indistinct] preparation of the zone. First, as was mentioned in our previous conversation, Armenia has a great need for cadres who could work in the area of foreign trade relations. Business schools must be set up and foreign instructors must be paid both in foreign and Soviet currency and must be rewarded for their technical contribution to education. It would be desirable if such a school was opened by the start of next year. Foreign languages must also be learned, for which there are good conditions in Armenia. The number of joint enterprises must be increased from 15 to 300 at least. The quality of Armenian goods must be radically improved to secure their competitiveness on the world market. A strong construction infrastructure is required. There must be qualified experts, and currency banks should be set up. No one will bring his capital here just like that. The earthquake [aid] was different, it was philanthropy; business, however, is based on interest. One should have representatives in the diaspora communities, and explanatory work should be undertaken. In short, the problems are very numerous and this has to be dealt with separately.

Further on Free Zone

NC1208215989 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1600 GMT 6 Aug 89

[Part three of three-part interview with Academician Abel Aganbegyan, head of a USSR Academy of Sciences commission to revive the Armenian economy after the earthquake, by Artanvil Grigoryan; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Grigoryan] During our previous conversations, we referred to the essence of a free economic zone, to the necessity of creating such a zone in Armenia and issues related to its characteristics and conditions for its existence. We also discussed a number of organizational and legal problems related to a free enterprise zone. In this interview as well we may want to refer to these issues in a more concrete manner. Let us start with the following question: In what ways could a free economic zone in Armenia entice foreign firms, in particular our diaspora compatriots?

[Aganbegyan] Armenia is not only able to do this, but it also arouses the interest of many. Many entrepreneurs and representatives of various organizations who displayed their philanthropy by dispatching immediate help after the earthquake also had the opportunity to get acquainted with our distinctive land and with its economic characteristics. As a result, a substantial number of offers of cooperation have been received. Armenia has good prospects for expansion in tourism and health resources. It has excellent mineral water. It has access to valuable minerals and tasty fruits. In my view, with regard to the establishment of a free zone priority should be given to the production of mass consumer goods and to the application of scientific knowledge, particularly computer technology and radio production. Armenia already has many quality specialists in these branches. During our consultations in the Armenian Academy of Sciences I was very suprised when one of the speakers said that ostensibly Armenia has nothing to offer to the world market. I totally disagree. There are such (?interesting) scientific-technological developments in Armenia that surpass their class on their international level. The talent of the Armenian people must be used purposefully. Also, many specialists and entrepreneurs representing the various diaspora Armenian communities have interesting ideas. The culling of our knowledge and activities could give us much. A nation that is faithful to its centuries-old customs and ancient culture and that basically is homogenous in spirit and language must also organize its own economic activity on which the invisible and visible ties of its various communities should be based. To tell the truth, our attachment to ancient customs and national traits and values, though strong, might eventually be weakened because of the great distances between the diaspora communities and their native land. But if we are bond together in everyday activity, if we cooperate, we also benefit from it as a modern nation.

[Grigoryan] So, the role of diaspora Armenians is more important in the free economic zone than it appears at first?

[Aganbegyan] Naturally. For that reason, there should be an immediate search for those who want to cooperate; joint enterprises should be set up with our compatriots; the competitiveness of our products should be ensured and the areas that help in this direction must be given attention. Judging from available data, we could say that more offers are coming from abroad than we are putting forward. Our radiophysics and electronic institutes must have many clients. However, their suggestions should not be discarded; instead, relevant production lines should be set up. If additional orders come in then the job must be done using either private or foreign means. The free economic zone could be created by the efforts of all of us regardless of our position and rank in society. For example, the leadership of the republic could conclude the necessary agreements with American scientists, in particular with the [word indistinct] institute in Massachusetts with the aim of drawing up relevant cooperation with Armenian entrepreneurs. I have no doubt that

they will readily formulate the conditions for cooperation. In general, in order to enhance the entrepreneurial ties between the motherland and diaspora Armenians, it is necessary to set up a special information agency. I have already suggested to Armenian entrepreneurial circles in France and the United States that they create such a joint agency in Armenia with a branch in Moscow. This agency will provide an information service to the Armenian businessmen, will establish ties between them, and acquaint them with business opportunities in the motherland and in various communities. You see there are so many things to do. In our conversation we are constantly repeating the words should and must. I repeat again, the free zone is not a temporary thing. Instead, it is a (?regenerative) and important job; it is an undertaking extending into the future. One must act.

[Grigoryan] Again the use of the word must. Suppose that we achieved this, how will the joint enterprise work start in the free economic zone? Can you give an example?

[Aganbegyan] An example: There is an Armenian in the United States who is the director of a large international toy company [word indistinct]. The toys are fundamentally different in technological terms from toys produced elsewhere and as such they are in great demand all over the world. That company has many enterprises in many other countries. Our American-Armenian compatriot has already proposed organizing joint production in Armenia by providing equipment and technology. Part of the manufactured product of that enterprise will be sold abroad, thus bringing in foreign currency. The rest, 70 to 80 percent, will be for the Soviet market. Our compatriot has no desire to take his earnings out of Armenia but wants to reinvest them in the joint enterprises to be set up with the Soviet Union. He is particularly interested in the production of rechargeable batteries that are used in the toys. He has great plans. Such proposals are [word indistinct]. In order to entice such entrepreneurs, one must develop a (?spirit) of free enterprise under conditions where the income tax are very low; not 30 percent but a mere 10 percent. Let me repeat, the income tax will be not 30 percent but 10 percent. The foreign enterpreneur will be able to bring in to the free zone raw materials and equipment without any tariffs. He will have a so-called [word indistinct] visa to enter and leave our country. He could come to Armenia at any time he desires, going through customs not in Moscow but in Yerevan. In this way, an entirely new (?way of acting) will be established.

[Grigoryan] You mentioned earlier that cooperation with the diaspora Armenians coincides with their economic interests. If we give them priority, will we not be closing the door to the profitable offers of foreign entrepreneurs?

[Aganbegyan] While giving priority to our compatriots, we will not at the same time ignore others. Our aim is the speedy elimination of the consequences of the earthquake, the fundamental transformation of our economy, an increase in the availability of consumer goods, and the improvement of the people's standard of living. Thanks to the free economic zone, we will have our own share in the international economy. Therefore, it is not logical to reject this or that offer out of hand. It is obvious that each offer of cooperation must be dealt with [word indistinct]. It must be assessed comprehensively and must be accordingly accepted or rejected. One must also realize the urgency of the offer [words indistinct]. Realizing the demands of our Soviet domestic market, we must give a sensible direction to this affair; we must provide mass consumer goods to the whole country and in return receive commensurate earnings.

[Grigoryan] Naturally, social-psychological and (?intellectual) problems are inseperable from the idea of the free zone. Ceratin intellectuals have expressed the fear that with free enterprise our national traits could undergo an undesirable transformation. What do you have to say on this score?

[Aganbegyan] One cannot disregard such concerns—they are possible. Living conditions shape man's consciousness. We must consider the changes in our life as natural, we must act with ethical balance toward our [word indistinct]. Those who digress from this principle [word indistinct] will inevitably resign their place in life to others. Everything in life is a balance; one should simply be sensible to prevent one's hopes from being broken. Our people exhibited relative composure in the face of the prolonged Artsakh [Nagorno-karabakh Autonomous Oblast] problem, the Sumgait genocide, and the earthquake. Their high degree of awareness, centuries-old heritage, and resilience in overcoming numerous historical trials preclude pessimism on this score as well. Anyway, our commission, made up of Moscow scientists, will study the results of the investigations of the sociology institute and of other organizations on 4 ?September). These investigations were conducted with a view to ascertain the psychological state of the Armenian people in the aftermath of the earthquake and the postponment of the Karabakh problem. I think the evaluation of the results will also help us in formulating our future moves.

[Grigoryan] However, a number of problems exists regarding interethnic relations in the free enterprise zone, the price of the goods, the creation of a single currency, the description of this zone, and the participation in it of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. What do you have to say on this?

[Aganbegyan] Fortunately, among Soviet republics Armenia is ethnically the most homogenous and therefore no serious problems could develop in the free zone on interethnic grounds, though various differences of opinion on income distribution cannot be disregarded. However, this should be no cause for uneasiness. The prices in the free zone should be regulated with flexibility. A state committee on prices must be set up, though no other proposal to beef up administrative

apparatus is to be welcomed just as the creation of a separate currency in the zone is not welcomed because of a lack of substantiation. As regards Artsakh's participation in the enterprises, I can say that if the problem of Karabakh is solved, then it too will be brought into the zone. As to the description of the zone, what is really important is the essence, the substance, of it, though the description somewhat delimits and [word indistinct] the content. We could call it a free cooperation zone as was suggested at one of the talks during the consultative meeting at the Armenian Academy of Sciences. I want to reiterate that the important thing is the essence, the realization of our aims and we all must work toward this end.

Azerbaijan's Vezirov Speaks on Cadre Training
NC1107091689 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] At a meeting on 6 July, the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee examined the tasks to coordinate the (?selection) of youths to the ranks of students. Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, addressed the meeting, noting:

Enrollment in universities and the [words indistinct] of the students play a very important role in the improvement of the republic's economic, social, and moral life. The realization of the principle of social justice in practical life is (?now possible).

The results of entrance exams indicate that a certain amount of progress has been achieved in organizing the acceptance (?lists). However, one of the main shortcomings in this regard is the absence of information on the needs of the rayons, cities, industrial and agricultural establishments, and scientific administrations for cadres, not to mention the absence of precise plans for the training of experts. The preparation of student cadres is the most important requirement in the effort to train experts, which is what is expected from the reorganization of the universities. However, our work in this direction is unsatisfactory, despite the fact that there is a great need for experts, as has been the case in the past. Nevertheless, the leading officials of the pertinent ministries and main administrations have not furnished the universities with information on their actual needs.

Existing opportunities to send youths to schools to study on the basis of the funds provided by industrial establishments, [word indistinct], and state and collective farms are not being used satisfactorily. Nor are the [word indistinct] themselves making a satisfactory contribution toward resolving this important problem, regardless of the fact that they have significant (?interest) in this work.

The selection of youths for training outside the republic in specialized fields for which there is great demand in the republic but in which training is not available in Azerbaijan's universities must be organized.

Pointing to this important aspect of the training of experts, Vezirov said that the republic's State Planning Committee, Ministry of Popular Education, and Academy of Sciences paid insufficient attention to matters concerning the planning and preparation of [word indistinct] for sending youths to universities in a number of other republics. [passage indistinct]

Vezirov pointed to concrete tasks concerning the preparation of the acceptance lists. He noted that a sound and deep knowledge of [word indistinct] must be regarded as the main guide in selecting youths to the ranks of the students. This is very much [word indistinct] with the leading officials of the universities and party organizations. [passage omitted]

Bribery, favoritism, [word indistinct], and other negative trends must be resolutely countered. Meanwhile, openness in its broadest sense, participation of [word indistinct] in the examinations, and control over [word indistinct] must be secured.

Ratib Zeynalov, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, and Ratib Aliyev, chief of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Ideology Department, participated in the meeting.

Armenian Village Requests Incorporation in NKAO
NC0908203489 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 9 Aug 89

["Decision of the Extraordinary Session of the Shahumyan 'Village' Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies—From an Article Reprinted From NOR UGHI, NEW PATH, Organ of the 'Azerbaijan Communist Party Shahumyan Village' Rayon Party Committee and of Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies"—ARMENPRES headline]

[Text] Taking into consideration the unanimous wish of the Armenian section of the rayon's population and proceeding from its numerous appeals and demands, the session of the rayon soviet of people's deputies decided by an overwhelming vote of 53 for and 8 abstaining the following:

1. To ask the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet to consider the incorporation of the Shahumyan "village" rayon of the Azerbaijan SSR into the structure of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] of the Azerbaijan SSR.

2. To request the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers to make a similar appeal to the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet.

3. To ask the USSR Supreme Soviet to vouch for the implementation of this decision.

4. Proceeding from certain responsible functionaries' statements that people's security cannot be guaranteed, to ask the USSR Supreme Soviet to place the people of the rayon under its protection.

[Signed] V. Aghajanyan, chairman of the Shahumyan "3" rayon soviet of people's deputies, and V. Agopyan, secretary of the Shahumyan "3" rayon soviet of people's deputies, 26 July, 1989, Shahumyan.

Latvian Central Committee Plenum Ends 12 Aug

LD1208181989 Moscow TASS in English 1805 GMT 12 Aug 89

[Text] Riga August 12 TASS—The participants in the first part of a plenary meeting of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee approached seriously and critically the elaboration of orientations for further work of the party organisation of this Baltic republic.

Speakers at the plenum, attended by workers, peasants, party officials and representatives of new socio-political movements said that a crisis of confidence in the party began to show, and pointed to a tendency towards the party's division on an ethnic basis.

The plenum with one accord called for further democratic development of the Latvian Republic. It was precisely in this vein that the plenum considered matters concerning both national sovereignty and the assertion of the independence of the Latvian Communist Party which developed in alliance with the communist parties of the other republics of the Soviet Union.

The magnitude of the task—to work out the Latvian Communist Party's action programme in the conditions of deep-going perestroika suggested an unusual procedure for the plenum's work. Following two days of sessions, the plenum on Saturday [12 August] took a recess until September.

Until then, a commission elected by the plenum will generalise the ideas and proposals expressed at the plenum, sum them up and bring up the results of its work for consideration at the plenum's second part to be held later.

But such major issues as the status of the Latvian Communist Party among the CPSU, new rules and programme of the Latvian Communist Party, notwithstanding the fact that they were already discussed at the plenum, will also be brought up for discussion at the republican party congress.

Latvia Sets Up Military Service Commission

PM1707121389 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 27 Jun 89 p 3

[Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution: "On the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Commission on Military Service by the Republic's Young People"]

[Text] With a view to developing cooperation between the public, military commissariats, and military units situated on the republic's territory in training young people for military service, improving the organization of military service, and stepping up the influence of military service on the education and overall development of young people the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves:

1. To set up a Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Commission on Military Service by the Republic's Young People and to ratify its members.

2. To instruct the Commission on Military Service by the Republic's Young People to tackle the questions of training young people for military service, to monitor the course of their drafting into the Army, to inquire into the conditions of military service, to maintain contact with military units and soldiers' parents, and to take part in examining cases of nonregulation relations in the Army and in the resolution of training, work, and leisure problems encountered by young people undergoing military service.

3. To propose that the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Youth Affairs Commission, the Health and Social Security Commission, and the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Commission on Military Service by the Republic's Young People cooperate in examining proposals to improve laws and other legal acts regulating military service, and in resolving other problems of military service.

4. To instruct the Latvian SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and the editorial offices of republican newspapers and magazines to constantly inform the public of the activities of the Commission on Military Service by the Republic's Young People, and to objectively analyze questions of military service in depth.

5. To ratify the Provision on the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Commission on Military Service by the Republic's Young People.

[Signed] A. Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
V. Klibik, secretary of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
Riga city, 22 June 1989.

Members of Latvian Military Commission Listed

PM1707121589 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 27 Jun 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Members of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium Commission on Military Service by the Republic's Young People"]

[Text] Commission Chairman:

Yanis Erikovich Nesaule, secretary of the Latvian Republican Trade Union Council and member of the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Commission Members:

Mikhail Filippovich Drozd, Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet deputy;

Alfred Dmitriyevich Drozda, chairman of the Liyepaya City Soviet Executive Committee;

Yanis Boleslavovich Duda, Latvian SSR military commissar and Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet deputy;

Boris Arkadyevich Isakov, riverboat engineer and senior secretary of the Latvian Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] Central Committee's "Salang" Club;

Ivan Andreyevich Kibal, lieutenant general (retired) and hero of the Soviet Union;

Feliks Arestovich Kornelius, first secretary of Proletarskiy Latvian Communist Party Rayon Committee and Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet deputy;

Astrida Viktorovna Krogere, chairman of Yelgavskiy Rayon Executive Committee and member of the republic's Women's Council Presidium;

Dayna Eduardovna Maliatse, workshop chief at Tsesisskiy Rayon's Consumer Services Combine and Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet deputy;

Petr Nikolayevich Masalitin, lieutenant general (retired) and Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet deputy;

Leopold Alfredovich Ozolinsh, senior scientific staffer at the Traumatology and Orthopedics Scientific Research Institute and USSR people's deputy;

Valeriy Pavlovich, second secretary of the Latvian Komsomol Central Committee;

Nikolay Aleksandrovich Stakla, electric installation worker at Riga's "Avtoelektropribor" Plant and member of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium;

Andrey Yanovich Tsirulis, editor of the PADOMJU JAUNATNE newspaper and USSR people's deputy;

and Viya Karlovna Yakobsone, deputy chairman of the republic's Lawyers' Collegium.

Lithuanian Reservists Return Draft Cards

LD1308112989 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 12 Aug 89

[Text] The action of returning military cards to the Defense Minster Yazov has been resumed today in the Cathedral Square in Vilnius. A new batch of reservists cards was forfeited to the minister.

Similar actions took place in Kaunas and Panevezys. The legitimacy of this act rests on the 1949 Geneva convention, Article 51, according to which citizens of an occupied territory are not liable to be drafted into the occupants' army.

Vilnius Rally Marks Creation of New Party

PM1108152789 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 23 Jul 89 p 3

[N. Zdanovich report: "Another Rally. Another Party?"]

[Text] On Thursday [20 July] a rally organized by participants in the republic's new public movement—the so-called Lithuanian Humanism and Progress Party [LHPP]—was held in Nagornyy Park. In spite of the overcast weather, many people gathered there. This indicates that the capital's inhabitants are not indifferent to the new political force emerging in their home.

L. Tarakyavichyus, the leader of the new movement, made a speech. He said that the newly conceived party is called upon to defend people's interests and to revive and develop humanist values and ideals. From this viewpoint, in the speaker's opinion, humanism is inseparable from progress, otherwise it will not have creative force.

The party that is being formed has proclaimed peaceful means of struggling for its positions and has indicated its right to struggle for power not as an aim in itself, but as a means of solving the tasks facing it.

Guests representing various parties and unions and people sympathizing with the new movement spoke at the meeting. Their speeches varied—there was criticism both of the Communist Party, and of "Sajudis," talk of the absurdity of repudiating socialist ideals, and reluctance to recognize any achievements in the republic's life during the years of Soviet power....

After the rally I managed to talk to L. Tarakyavichyus. When I asked on what points he and his comrades-in-arms disagree with "Sajudis," the Democratic Party, and other organizations, which is why the LHPP has been created, he answered: "We live in one society and in the same conditions, so our aims have a lot in common. But the movements you mentioned have one serious shortcoming: They cannot tolerate opinions which differ from their own and believe themselves to be in possession of the truth. Our viewpoint is that only plurality of opinions helps to maintain trenchant

thinking and its progress. We do not recognize any form of suppression of human individuality, as we believe it to be the supreme value which stands above state and political interests."

On the subject of the individual's moral improvement and scientific and technical progress, L. Tarakyavichyus stressed that these phenomena are inseparable. Only their interdependence and interaction will benefit mankind.

In our conversation we touched on interethnic tension in the republic. "I would like to call upon Russians and Poles not to turn Lithuania into Russia or Poland—just as I would call upon Lithuanians not to turn Russian, Belorussian, or any other lands into Lithuania," my interlocutor said. "We who live here together must strive for common aims, the most natural of which is man's well-being. And I think that there is enough room in Lithuania for all of us."

A resolution was adopted at the rally which said that there must never be any place in Lithuania for any oppression of the individual and talked about loyalty to the ideals of humanism and beauty. The resolution further mentioned the determination to raise the question of the army's withdrawal from Lithuania, of nonrecognition of the competence of the People's Sejm decisions (of 21 July 1940), and of evaluating the elections to the People's Sejm as a political farce. The resolution ended with the words "Freedom for Lithuania!"

So we are invited to get acquainted with a new party. It is still difficult to judge whether it will become a real political force or what it will offer to society in practice rather than in words. Time will tell.

Lithuania Revokes USSR Minister's Order

PM1108095789 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 11 Jul 89 p 2

["Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Resolution on Suspending the Operation on Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic territory of the USSR Railways Minister's Order No 8W Dated 25 April 1989 'On Amending Paragraph 1.2 of the Regulations Governing USSR Railroads' Technical Operations'"—SOVETSKAYA LITVA headline]

[Text] In accordance with Article 70 of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Constitution (Basic Law) the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

To suspend the operation on Lithuanian SSR territory of the USSR Railways Minister's order No 8W [8ts] of 25 April 1989 "On Amending Paragraph 1.2 of the Regulations Governing the USSR Railroads' Technical Operation" as contravening the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree of 25 January 1989 "On the Utilization of the Lithuanian SSR State Language."

[Signed] V. Astrauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
L. Sabutis, secretary of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
Vilnius, 5 July 1989.

Newly Forming Lithuanian Youth Organizations Meet

LD2407151089 Vilnius KOMJAUNIMO TIESA in Lithuanian 1 Apr 89 p 1

[KOMJAUNIMO TIESA informational article, entitled "Diversity Without Dictate"]

[Text] Representative of newly forming Lithuanian youth organizations held a meeting in Vilnius. Youth organizations are already an actuality and time is ripe to assess the existing situation objectively. It was decided to establish a Lithuanian Youth Organization Coordinating Council. Its membership, on a parity basis, comprises Lithuanian Scout Organization Reinstating Headquarters, Ateitininkai Federation, Lithuanian Youth Association, "Lituanica," Lithuanian Student Coordinating Council, Gediminaiciai, and representatives of Vilnius Student Council "Ausrine," and Sajudis Seimas. The Council will assist the other organizations in informations exchange, action coordination, will strive to secure equal rights for the forming organizations, and will defend their interests. It was decided not to interfere with organizations' internal affairs. Representatives of Lithuanian Komsomol and Pioneer organizations joined the Council, somewhat later.

The Lithuanian Youth Organization Coordinating Council projects establishing relations with the Lithuanian Youth World Association and other foreign youth organizations.

Lithuanian Youth Council Publishes Memorandum

LD2407152089 Vilnius KOMJAUNIMO TIESA in Lithuanian 1 Apr 89 p 1

[Memorandum signed by the Lithuanian Youth Organization Coordinating Council]

[Text] In expressing our concerns over the situation, which has evolved in southeastern Lithuania and the moral and cultural assimilation of its resident nationalities and also, being cognizant of the right, of the people of every nationality, to educate their children in their native language, we invite Lithuanian Communist Party and govermnent leaders, as individuals, who must and are able to, concern themselves with the affairs of the entire Republic, to direct special attention to this region's problems. We are of the opinion that Lithuanians, Belorussians, and Poles must have a sufficient number of national schools, churches and other cultural establishments. In seeking to satisfy the demands of all members of the population, we assert, that, reborn Lithuanian culture will also affect the flourishing of ethnic minorities, in this region. We propose:

1. To prepare, for southeastern Lithuania, a national rebirth program. Its most important goal to be—integration of southeastern Lithuania into moral and political existence of the entire republic.

2. To stop closing national schools. To preserve Salcininkai Rayon Poskoniai 9-year and Dabutiskiai Elementary Schools and to provide an opportunity for construction of a Lithuanian school in Riese. To open the Lithuanian schools of Salcininkai and Snieckus. To provide actual opportunities for people of Belorussian and Polish nationalities to teach their children in their native language.

3. To employ extraordinary measures to create most favorable conditions for young specialists, trained in Lithuania, who come to work in southeastern Lithuania.

4. To relinquish the isolationist policy, perpetrated by rayon party committees and local administrative organs. Theater performances and music ensembles must give performances there and get-togethers must be conducted with literary and art figures.

5. To assess the incisive nationality question position taken by the editorial office of CZERWONY SZTANDAR. To begin its publication in Lithuanian, Polish and Belorussian.

6. Since Lithuania is not a federal state, there can be no autonomous designations for its regions. For this reason, we consider the "autonomy announcements," as illegal acts, aimed against the Lithuanian Republic and inciting to national enmity. We think persons who inspired such events, ought to be penalized. Individuals who are against Lithuania and its existing laws, must not be in charge of rayon life.

We believe, the situation can be remedied with the implementation of these measures. In turn, we pledge to support national rebirth of southeastern Lithuania with all the means available at our disposal. Moral and cultural freedom, for people of all nationalities, is our aim. We invite you to support residents of southeastern Lithuania, to assemble amd unite on behalf of a common ideal—in the name of our native land, Lithuania!

Lithuania To Set Up Commission on 1939 Treaties

PM1108122989 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 11 Jul 89 p 2

["Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Resolution on the Study of the Treaties Concluded in 1939 Between Germany and the USSR and Their Consequences"—SOVETSKAYA LITVA headline]

[Text] The Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To instruct the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to form a commission to study the treaties concluded in 1939 between Germany and the USSR and their consequences.

2. To take into account the resolutions of the 1989 Vilnius conference of historians and lawyers on problems of the Baltic States' domestic and foreign policy on the eve of and at the beginning of World War II, and the analogous international conference in 1989 in Tallinn, at which a legal assessment was given of the treaties between Germany and the USSR dated 23 August and 28 September 1939, noting primarily the proposal on convening an international forum of interested countries.

3. To instruct the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to analyze questions connected with these treaties.

[Signed] V. Astrauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
L. Sabutis, secretary of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
Vilnius, 5 July 1989.

General Questions Secret Protocol's Existence

LD1108175689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Interview with Major General Viktor Ivanovich Filatov, chief editor of VOENNO-ISTORICHESKIY ZHURNAL, by all-union radio commentator Konstantin Patsyuk, the program presenter—live in studio; from the "International Situation: Questions and Answers" program;]

[Text] [Patsyuk] Hello, esteemed comrades! We begin our program which, as always, is based on listeners' letters.

On 1 September it will have been 50 years since the beginning of World War II, the bloodiest of wars. Newspapers and journalists are publishing all kinds of material in connection with this. Letters reach us in which the writers, among other things, ask about the secret protocols that we allegedly signed with Hitler in 1939. Today we have invited to the microphone Major General Viktor Ivanovich Filatov, chief editor of VOENNO-ISTORICHESKIY ZHURNAL. What can you say about these protocols?

[Filatov] I was working in the archives recently when I came across a particular document. It was a single copy, dated 28 December 1939, in which our military attache in Lithuania reports to (Laksenov), deputy USSR people's commissar for defense and Army commander, second class. It is a top secret document containing a great deal of material. What interested me was the part referring to the so-called zones of interest of Germany and the USSR. We know the complex and dangerous

situation that had developed in Europe at that time. The war had approached right to our borders. The USSR had essentially found itself in a position of isolation, and it was in this situation that the pact with Germany was signed, but it did not alter the situation in a cardinal way. There remained the problem of the Baltic region, among others. The different readings, as they were called, of the zone of interests and the speculation around them, had begun. This is what our military attache in Lithuania reported to Moscow on this subject: It is probable that, with the objective of a warning to us, Lithuania, in its relations with the Soviet Union, does not disregard Germany. An article by a correspondent in Berlin was carried by a Lithuanian newspaper recently—our attache goes on to quote an extract from the article—which says, among other things: It is stated in responsible German circles that the lines of interest exist only on the territory of the former Poland. The attache considers that: The fact is becoming ever more clear that other states situated between Germany and the USSR are being acknowledged by both these powers as independent states. In responsible German circles, the attache's article goes on to quote, it is pointed out that it therefore would be absolutely incorrect to believe, for example, that Lithuania is within the zone of interest of one side or the other, since this zone is situated only on the territory of the former Poland. In connection with this, in responsible German circles, the hope is being expressed that Lithuania, as an independent state, will never have any grounds for anxiety with regard to its independence. Closer cooperation with one power or another may be based on well-known geographical, historical, or economic foundations. Lithuania's independence may be both useful to Germany and in the interests of the Soviet Union.

[Patsyuk] So what follows from this, Viktor Ivanovich?

[Filatov] There follows from this, or at least from this document, that in December 1939 no one held any discussions about any secret protocols. In 1939, in both Germany and Lithuania—and that means in Latvia and Estonia, too—everyone knew that there were no secret treaties or secret protocols, and that there never had been. Even today, no one has seen them, but people still speak as though they still exist, and that the nonaggression pact signed between the USSR and Germany lays the blame on us and subjects us to criticism from the right, the left, and from goodness knows where else. However that same pact of 7 June 1939 was signed with Hitler by the Estonia and Latvia of that time. Poland, Britain, France—and not just they—also had the same treaty with Hitler. There is nothing reprehensible in this. A bad peace is better than a good quarrel.

But let us go back to the secret protocols. One can only talk about genuine and not mythical protocols when they lie on the table, but at the moment, I believe, they are the subject of all kinds of speculation, no more than that. I rummaged through a pile of documents of that time in our military archives and nowhere did I find even a hint of any protocols. It was even simpler than that. In 1939 Hitler was even too weak to embark on a military confrontation with the USSR, and our country did not at that time need any secret treaties, particularly on the Baltic region. There were no Hitlerite troops there at the time, and Hitler could hardly give back to us what he did not have. I believe that intelligent people sat on the governments of the three Baltic republics in 1939, and by deploying Soviet troops on their territories they were thus saying no to fascism.

[Patsyuk] However, the war still began, and the fascists did arrive in the Baltic, and not just there.

[Filatov] That is true, they did. When today one considers why was it that the world failed to avoid this universal slaughter, one inevitably comes to one and the same conclusion. The reason was anti-Sovietism. Britain, France, Germany, and Poland—these were all very different countries and each of these countries had its own objectives, tasks, and problems, but they were all united by anti-Sovietism. The Germans thought they were better than the Poles. The Poles thought they were better than the Germans. The French and the British also thought they were different, unlike anybody else, but they were all anointed with anti-Sovietism. It is precisely this that was the main cause of the war. Everything else derives from this. It has been like that since 1917, and anti-Sovietism has brought nothing good, only confrontation. On the eve of the 50th anniversary of the bloodiest of wars, one should remember this more often.

Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact Discussed, Assessed

LD2407221189 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] [Announcer] It was in the latter half of July in 1940 that the three Baltic states—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—applied for membership of the Soviet Union. In Vantage Point today Boris Belitskiy speaks of the events of that period.

[Belitskiy] On Friday [22 July] the Soviet national daily PRAVDA, in response to readers' requests, printed facsimiles and the full texts of the decisions taken by the supreme governing bodies of Estonia and Lithuania to apply for membership in the Soviet Union. The Estonian decision, for example, signed by the head of the national legislature, Arnold Veimer, speaks of the longstanding fraternal links between the Estonian working people and the peoples of the USSR and their joint revolutionary struggle against the Tsarist regime. The Lithuanian decision emphasized the importance of the joint stand of the Soviet republics against the aggressive ambitions of certain powers, a clear reference to the powers of the fascist axis, which were just about to start [as heard] the Second World War at the time.

However, the documents in the focus of attention on this anniversary are not these decisions taken by the Baltic states but the nonaggression treaty concluded by the

Soviet Union and Germany in August 1939 and specifically what are known as the secret protocols appended to it. Now at the Congress of Peoples Deputies 2 months ago several deputies from the Baltic republics declared that these protocols divided Eastern Europe into spheres of influence and led to the absorption of the Baltic republics by the Soviet Union. Since then the subject has been under close study by a commission set up by the congress to provide a political and legal assessment of the 1939 Soviet-German treaty, often referred to in the West as the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.

The subject has also been under study in the commission of the Communist Party's Central Committee on international affairs. Both commissions are chaired by Aleksandr Yakovlev, a member of the Central Committee's Political Bureau. What have the commissions accomplished to date? Most important of all to my mind is their clearly stated resolve to achieve, as it was reaffirmed last Thursday [21 July], a precise and impartial evolution of all aspects of the problem, in line with the efforts to make the Soviet Union a civic state governed by the rule of law.

This point was stressed by Dr Georgiy Arbatov, the director of the Institute of United States and Canada Studies. If we were to depart from the truth, he told the Central Committee commission, or if we were even to bend the truth this would do great moral damage and we would not be forgiven. Dr Arbatov then went on to speak of the so-called protocols, the originals of which have not been found either in this country or in Germany. Yes, he said, we can say that the originals are missing but we know from the entire course of events that some such understanding did exist and events took their course accordingly.

Another member of the commission, Valentin Falin, who heads the Central Committee's International Department, called Stalin's action in agreeing to divide Eastern Europe into spheres of influence opportunistic and a departure from the foreign policy principles laid down by Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state. At the same time, Falin pointed out that the conclusion of the nonaggression treaty itself with Germany had been a forced measure, a step taken when all attempts to reach agreement with Britain and France on a joint stand against Hitler's aggression had failed. Britain and France had instead opted for a policy of appeasing Hitler in the hope of directing his aggression eastwards against the Soviet Union.

In short, what are we to make of all this? Clearly Soviet historians are inclining towards the view that what are known as the secret protocols were morally reprehensible. At the same time, they have to be seen in their historical context. The nonaggression treaty with Germany gave the Soviet Union a breathing spell to build up its defenses against what was seen as inevitable Nazi aggression and the additional territory separating Hitler's armies of aggression from the Soviet heartland provided a better chance of defending such vital centers as Moscow and Leningrad. In the long run, all this added to the Soviet Union's defense potential, made it a stronger ally of the Western democracies in the war and contributed to our common victory over the forces of fascism.

Vortnikov Chairs 9 Aug RSFSR Presidium Session

LD1008063989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0000 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] On Wednesday [9 August] another meeting of the Presidium of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet was held. RSFSR draft laws on amendments and addenda to the republic's constitution, on electing RSFSR people's deputies, and on electing people's deputies at Russia's local soviets were examined.

The draft laws are submitted for nation-wide discussion. They will be published in the press.

The presidium set up a provisional committee for combating crime and a commission for issues of national policy and interethnic relations in the Russian Federation.

Certain other issues were examined at the meeting. Comrade Vorotnikov chaired the meeting.

RSFSR Supreme Soviet Considers Decrees

18001464 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 29 Jul 89 Second Edition p 3

[Report by Deputy S.I. Chistoplyasov, secretary of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium : "On Confirming the Ukases of the Presidium of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies!

The ukases you have been issued by the Presidium of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet during the period after the 9th Session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet are submitted for your confirmation.

As you can see from the materials available to you, they affect various aspects of state life of the republic, and are aimed at further improving the legislation, reinforcing the rule of law and legal order. All of the ukases have been published at the time. Allow me to recall them only in brief.

By a ukase dated 21 November 1988, the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet made amendments in the legislation on criminal and administrative penalties aimed at reinforcing the struggle against fires. In the last 5 years an increase in the number of fires has been

registered in the RSFSR; these fires have caused considerable financial losses. The ukase expanded the list of violations of fire safety rules that entail criminal or administrative responsibility.

In conjunction with the spread of petty speculation and violations of the rules of trade, the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet issued a ukase on 7 March 1989 that establishes administrative penalties for the illegal sales of merchandise or other objects at excessive prices, as well as the sale of goods from storage facilities, warehouses, and auxiliary premises of trade or public catering enterprises, and hiding goods from customers.

In addition, by a ukase dated 10 May 1989, the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet established criminal penalties for the sale of goods from warehouses and storage facilities, and for hiding goods from customers committed for monetary gain or other personal motives.

With a view to bringing the republic criminal legislation into compliance with the all-union one, the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet made amendments and additions in the RSFSR Criminal and Criminal Procedure Codes by a ukase dated 8 April 1989.

Article 74[1] providing for penalties for insulting or discrediting state organs and social organizations, as follows from the USSR law, was added to the criminal code.

However, as you know, the USSR Congress of People's Deputies passed a resolution on abolishing the norm providing for criminal penalties for the actions indicated. In conjunction with this, the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet omitted the article in question from the RSFSR Criminal Code by a ukase dated 5 July 1989. This ukase is submitted for your confirmation.

As far as the ukase dated 8 April 1989 is concerned, it is not submitted for confirmation by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. This is explained by the fact that the USSR Supreme Soviet has not yet confirmed the ukase that was the foundation for adopting the republic ukase.

Comrade deputies!

Recently, cases of extortion frequently associated with violence (so-called racketeering) have become more common, especially with regard to cooperative members and persons involved in individual labor activities. The mass media have reported on this in detail.

Suffice it to say that in the [first] 6 months of 1989 over 1,200 such infringements were registered in the Russian Federation.

With a view to stepping up the struggle against organized crime, the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet amended the RSFSR Criminal Code by a ukase dated 12 January 1989, establishing increased penalties for these crimes in the form of deprivation of freedom for 4 to 10 years.

A ukase dated 5 April 1989 amended the RSFSR Code on Administrative Law Violations. The amendments are aimed at differentiating and reinforcing the penalties for violating the rules of the road. In particular, the list of violations of rules of the road entailing administrative penalties was shortened. Fines for insignificant violations of the above rules were abolished. The principle of repeat commission of violations was eliminated. At the same time, penalties for committing vehicular violations posing an increased danger were augmented.

With a view to ensuring a broader participation by the public in combating drug addiction, the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, by a ukase dated 18 May 1989, made additions to the Regulations on the Commissions for Fighting Drunkenness that operate under the ispolkoms [executive committees] of local soviets of people's deputies, as well as at enterprises, giving these commissions responsibilities for conducting educational and preventive work among the individuals using narcotics and mind-altering substances.

A number of amendments and additions to the RSFSR Housing Code were introduced.

Thus, by a ukase of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet dated 18 November 1988, a provision was added to article 37 of the code to the effect that young specialists who have graduated from colleges and have been assigned to work in other localities through mandatory placement procedures and the members of their families are entitled to an out-of-turn allocation of residential premises upon arriving for work.

In May 1989 the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet expanded the rights of kolkhozes [collective farms] and other agricultural cooperatives in managing the housing stock belonging to them. In keeping with this, the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet issued a ukase dated 22 June 1989 by which it gave the kolkhozes and other agricultural cooperatives the right to grant preferences in the allocation of residential premises for kolkhoz members and individuals employed in kolkhozes on labor contracts. Corresponding changes were made in the Housing Code.

As you know, all-union legislation has given the citizens the right to purchase as their personal property their apartments in the houses of the state and public housing stock under certain conditions. In conjunction with this, the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet made an

addition to Article 5 of the code by a ukase dated 19 December 1988, including these apartments in the list of types of housing stock, and thus determining their legal status.

By a ukase dated 23 February 1989, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet set forth general guidelines for imposition of the income tax on cooperatives, and instructed union republics to set the rates of the income tax. In conjunction with this, the presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet issued a ukase dated 6 June 1989 by which it set forth differentiated income tax rates for production cooperatives depending on their kind, goal of operations, the urgency of meeting the needs of the populace, and the conditions of product sales.

The ispolkoms of local soviets that register the statutes of cooperatives were given the right to reduce the tax rates for a specific period or exempt individual cooperatives from taxes. This will promote incentives for the manufacturing of products (work, services) necessary for the populace and the national economy and reductions of prices for them.

Comrade deputies!

During the period indicated, the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet continued its work associated with the restructuring of some republic management organs.

Thus, in conjunction with the transformation of the union-republic Ministry of the Fish Industry into an all-union one, the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet abolished the RSFSR Ministry of the Fish Industry by a ukase dated 17 January 1989.

By a ukase dated 6 July 1989, the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet created new republic construction ministries:
The Ministry of Construction in the Northern and Western Areas of the RSFSR;
The Ministry of Construction in the Southern Areas of the RSFSR;
The Ministry of Construction in the Areas of the Urals and West Siberia of the RSFSR;
The Ministry of Construction in the Eastern Areas of the RSFSR.

Ukases are also submitted for your confirmation by which some changes were made in the composition of the republic government at the request of the chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

The Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet appointed:
Comrade Yevgeniy Ivanovich Sizenko first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers;
Comrade Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Babenko deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers;
Comrade Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Khomyakov deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the RSFSR State Planning Committee;
Comrade Boris Nikolayevich Demin chairman of the RSFSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply;
Comrade Viktor Nikitovich Zabelin minister of construction in the Urals and West Siberia Areas of the RSFSR;
Comrade Vladimir Ivanovich Reshetilov minister of construction in the northern and western areas of the RSFSR;
Comrade Arkadiy Nikolayevich Shchepetilnikov minister of construction in the southern areas of the RSFSR;
Comrade Vasiliy Dmitriyevich Glushchenko RSFSR minister;
Comrade Georgiy Vasilyevich Kurin as RSFSR minister.

The presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet relieved Comrades Lev Borisovich Yermin, Nikolay Ivanovich Maslennikov, Ivan Pavlovich Peresypkin, and Yuriy Ivanovich Lomakin of their positions in conjunction with their retirement.

Deputy Chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers Comrade Oleg Ivanovich Lobov was relieved of his position by a ukase dated 17 February 1989 in conjunction with a transfer to other work.

The Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet made some changes in the composition of the RSFSR Supreme Court and the RSFSR Committee of People's Control.

As you know, Comrade Yevgeniy Alekseyevich Smolentsev was elected chairman of the USSR Supreme Court. In conjunction with this, the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet relieved him of the responsibilities of chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Court.

Comrade Vyacheslav Mikhaylovich Lebedev was elected the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Court.

Comrades Dmitriy Panteleyevich Aleksandrov, Gennadiy Aleksandrovich Zhilin, and Magomed Magomedovich Magomedov were elected members of the RSFSR Supreme Court.

In conjunction with a transfer to other work, Comrade Aleksandr Ivanovich Ilyenkov was relieved of the responsibilities of first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Committee of People's Control.

Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Popov was confirmed as the first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Committee of People's Control.

You, comrades deputies, have the draft laws and resolutions of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on confirming these ukases.

We ask that you consider and confirm them.

Law of the RSFSR on Confirming the Ukases of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on Changes in the System of Organs of State Governance in the RSFSR and on Amendments and Additions to the RSFSR Law "On the RSFSR Council of Ministers"

The Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR resolves:

1. To confirm the ukases of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet:

dated 17 January 1989 "On Abolishing the RSFSR Ministry of Fish Industry";

dated 6 July 1989 "On Forming the RSFSR Republic Construction Ministries."

2. To make the following amendments and additions to the RSFSR Law dated 3 August 1979 "On the RSFSR Council of Ministers" (VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA RSFSR, 1979, No 32, item 783; 1985, No 48, item 1649; 1986, No 26, item 726; 1987, No 28, item 989; No 45, item 1554; 1988, No 17, item 542; No 46, item 1459):

a) omit the words "RSFSR Ministry of Fish Industry" from Article 25;
b) following the words "RSFSR Ministry of Social Security," add to Article 26 the words "Ministry of Construction in the Northern and Western Areas of the RSFSR; Ministry of Construction in the Southern Areas of the RSFSR; Ministry of Construction in the Urals and West Siberia Areas of the RSFSR; Ministry of Construction in the Eastern Areas of the RSFSR."

[Signed] V. Vorotnikov, chairman of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet
S. Chistoplyasov, secretary of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet
Moscow, Kremlin, 28 July 1989

Law of the RSFSR on Confirming the Ukases of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on Amendments and Additions to Some RSFSR Legislative Acts

The Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR resolves:

To confirm the ukases of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet: dated 18 November 1988 "On an Addition to Article 37 of the RSFSR Housing Code";
dated 21 November 1988 "On Amendments and Additions to the RSFSR Criminal and Criminal Procedure Codes and the RSFSR Code on Administrative Law Violations";
dated 19 December 1988 "On an Addition to Article 5 of the RSFSR Housing Code";
dated 12 January 1989 "On Amendments and Additions to the RSFSR Criminal Code";
dated 7 March 1989 "On Amendments and Additions to the RSFSR Code on Administrative Law Violations";
dated 5 April 1989 "On Amendments and Additions to the RSFSR Code on Administrative Law Violations";
dated 12 April 1989 "On Amendments and Additions to Articles 338 and 339 of the RSFSR Civil Procedure Code";
dated 10 May 1989 "On Amendments and Additions to the RSFSR Criminal Code";
dated 18 May 1989 "On Amendments and Additions to Some RSFSR Legislative Acts";
dated 25 May 1989 "On Amendments to Article 39 of the RSFSR Corrective Labor Code";
dated 22 June 1989 "On Additions and Amendments to the RSFSR Housing Code";
dated 5 July 1989 "On Amendments to the RSFSR Criminal and Criminal Procedure Codes."

[Signed] V. Vorotnikov, chairman of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet
S. Chistoplyasov, secretary of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet
Moscow, Kremlin, 28 July 1989

Decree of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on Confirming the Ukases of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on Relieving of the Responsibilities and Appointing the First Deputy Chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers

The Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR resolves:

To confirm the ukases of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet:

dated 20 April 1989 on relieving Comrade Lev Borisovich Yermin of the position of first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers—chairman of the RSFSR State Agroindustrial Committee in conjunction with his retirement;
dated 21 June 1989 on appointing Comrade Yevgeniy Ivanovich Sizenko the first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

[Signed] V. Vorotnikov, chairman of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet
S. Chistoplyasov, secretary of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet
Moscow, Kremlin, 28 July 1989

Decree of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on Confirming the Ukases of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on Relieving of the Responsibilities and Appointing the Deputy Chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers

The Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR resolves:

To confirm the ukases of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet:

dated 17 February 1989 on relieving Comrade Oleg Ivanovich Lobov of the position of deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers in conjunction with a transfer to other work;
dated 2 March 1989 on appointing Comrade Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Babenko a deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

[Signed] V Vorotnikov, chairman of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet
S. Chistoplyasov, secretary of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet
Moscow, Kremlin, 28 July 1989

Decree of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on Confirming the Ukases of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on the chairman of the RSFSR State Planning Committee and Minister of Construction in the Northern and Western Areas of the RSFSR

The Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR resolves:

To confirm the ukases of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet:

dated 26 July 1989 on relieving Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Maslennikov of the position of deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers-chairman of the RSFSR State Planning Committee in conjunction with his retirement;
dated 26 July 1989 on appointing Comrade Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Khomyakov deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers-chairman of the RSFSR State Planning Committee;
dated 26 July 1989 on appointing Comrade Vladimir Ivanovich Reshetilov the minister of construction in the northern and western areas of the RSFSR.

[Signed] V. Vorotnikov, chairman of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet
S. Chistoplyasov, secretary of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet
Moscow, Kremlin, 28 July 1989

Decree of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on Confirming the Ukases of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on the First Deputy Chairman of the RSFSR Committee of People's Control

The Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR resolves:

To confirm the ukases of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet

dated 21 July 1989 on relieving Comrade Aleksandr Ivanovich Ilyenkov of the duties of the first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Committee of People's Control in conjunction with a transfer to other work
dated 26 July 1989 on confirming Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Popov as the first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Committee of People's Control

[Signed] V. Vorotnikov, chairman of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet
S. Chistoplyasov, secretary of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet
Moscow, Kremlin, 28 July 1989

Decree of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on Confirming the Ukases of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on Relieving From Their Positions and Appointing Individual Persons as Members of the RSFSR Council of Ministers

The Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR resolves:

To confirm the ukases of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet:

dated 14 December 1988 on relieving Comrade Yuriy Ivanovich Lomakin of the position of chairman of the RSFSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply in conjunction with his retirement;
dated 14 December 1988 on appointing Comrade Boris Nikolayevich Demin the chairman of the RSFSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply;
dated 12 January 1989 on relieving Comrade Ivan Pavlovich Peresypkin of the position of RSFSR minister of the fish industry in conjunction with his retirement;
dated 25 January 1989 on appointing Deputy Chairman of the RSFSR State Agroindustrial Committee Comrade Vasiliy Dmitriyevich Glushchenko an RSFSR minister;
dated 12 May 1989 on appointing Chief of the Main Administration for the Construction and Restoration of Structures in the Areas of the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Affected by the Earthquake of the RSFSR Council of Ministers Comrade Georgiy Vasilyevich Kurin an RSFSR Minister;
dated 26 July 1989 on appointing Comrade Viktor Nikitovich Zabelin the minister of construction in the Urals and West Siberia Areas of the RSFSR;
dated 26 July 1989 on appointing Comrade Arkadiy Nikolayevich Shchepetilnikov the minister of construction in the southern areas of the RSFSR.

[Signed] V. Vorotnikov, chairman of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet
S. Chistoplyasov, secretary of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet
Moscow, Kremlin, 28 July 1989

Decree of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on Confirming the Ukases of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on the Chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Court

The Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR resolves:

To confirm the ukases of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet

dated 15 June 1989 on relieving Comrade Yevgeniy Alekseyevich Smolentsev of the duties of chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Court in conjunction with his election to the post of chairman of the USSR Supreme Court;
dated 26 July 1989 on the election of Comrade Vyacheslav Mikhaylovich Lebedev the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Court.

[Signed] V. Vorotnikov, chairman of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet
S. Chistoplyasov, Secretary of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet
Moscow, Kremlin, 28 July 1989

Decree of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on Confirming the Ukases of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on Changes in the Composition of the RSFSR Supreme Court

The Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR resolves:

To confirm the ukases of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet:

dated 2 January 1989 on the election of Comrade Dmitriy Panteleyevich Aleksandrov a member of the RSFSR Supreme Court;
dated 21 July 1989 on the election of members of the RSFSR Supreme Court Comrades Gennadiy Aleksandrovich Zhilin and Magomed Magomedovich Magomedov, and on relieving Comrades Magomed Akhmedovich Karimov and Yuriy Danilovich Redchenko of the duties of RSFSR Supreme Court members in conjunction with their elections to the posts of members of the USSR Supreme Court.

[Signed] V. Vorotnikov, chairman of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet
S. Chistoplyasov, secretary of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet
Moscow, Kremlin, 28 July 1989

Meeting of Russian Council of Ministers Reported

18001455 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Aug 89 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "In the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers"]

[Text] As already reported, questions of the results of socioeconomic development in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] during the first half of 1989 and of the course of fulfillment of tasks in the construction and restoration of projects in regions of the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] affected by the earthquake were reviewed at a 29 July meeting of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

It was noted that the process of democratization, deepening of the economic reform, perestroyka in production relations, and improvement in management organizational structures are proceeding in the RSFSR. A course is being maintained toward the social reorientation of the economy.

At the same time, the main indicators and trends in the development of the national economy during the first half of the year indicate that the 2.4-percent growth achieved in the volume of national income and the 2.1-percent growth in industrial output are not providing the necessary stability in development of the economy. Processes that are upsetting the balance and financial equilibrium of the national economy are still operating.

There was a businesslike and sharp examination of the main questions on whose resolution practical embodiment of the party course of perestroyka, normalization of the national economy, and raising the living standards of the population depend.

A thorough analysis was made of the state of affairs in the consumer market. It was emphasized that the shortages of many goods and services are not being reduced, that the population's monetary incomes are increasing more quickly than goods available, and wage growth is outstripping labor productivity growth, and in some places the shameful practice of payments that are essentially unearned income remains, while above-plan money issues continue. It was pointed out that republic and all-union ministries and departments, the councils of ministers of the autonomous republics and the ispolkoms [executive committees] of soviets of people's deputies are not insuring resolution of the most important tasks in satisfying consumer demand for essential goods and services. The RSFSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan], RSFSR Ministry of Finance, RSFSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply [Gossnab], RSFSR State Committee on Prices, and RSFSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and the republic's banking organs are making poor use of the arsenal of means to influence processes in the normalization of the economy.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers demanded from soviet and economic organs that they take decisive steps to saturate the consumer market, regarding this as a most important sociopolitical task. Specific assignments were issued to take emergency steps to satisfy consumer demand for soap and detergents and certain other commodities, and to make more complete use of local opportunities.

It was noted that the republic agroindustrial complex is permitting major deficiencies in its work. The low output growth rates in agriculture and the food sectors of industry, and also the considerable losses of this output, are complicating the situation with regard to supplying the population with foodstuffs. Compared to the corresponding period last year, supplies of foodstuffs to trade

have increased only 0.8 percent. Instances of interruptions in bread and bakery supplies to some places and their poor quality were noted to be quite unacceptable.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers has obliged the RSFSR State Agroindustrial Committee for the Non-Chernozem Zone of the RSFSR and other ministries and departments, the councils of ministers of the autonomous republics and the kray ispolkoms and oblast ispolkoms—on the basis of compliance with the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum and radical improvement in production relations and radical restructuring of the economic mechanism, and the priority resolution of questions concerning the development of the countryside—to insure stable work at kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] and all enterprises and organizations in the agroindustrial complex, and satisfy as quickly as possible the needs of the population for foodstuffs. The task has been set of carrying out the harvest work this year in a well-organized manner and at a high qualitative level.

There are still serious shortcomings in capital construction. During the first 6 months of the year only 27 percent of the annual target was met through state capital investments and enterprise assets. The annual plan for commissioning of state capital investments for housing was fulfilled only 34 percent; for houses and boarding houses for the aged and the disabled, only 21 percent; for children's pre-school establishments and hospitals, only 18 percent; for outpatient clinics, only 17 percent; and for schools only 14 percent. Compared to last year's level, fewer of these projects have been commissioned.

The RSFSR Ministry of Construction in the Northern and Western Regions of the USSR, the RSFSR Ministry of Construction in the Southern Regions of the USSR, the RSFSR Ministry of Construction in the Urals and West Siberian Regions of the USSR, the RSFSR Ministry of Construction in the Eastern Regions of the USSR, the RSFSR Ministry of Housing and Civilian Construction [minzhilgrazhdanstroy], and other ministries and departments of the RSFSR, the councils of ministers of the autonomous republics, kray ispolkoms and oblast ispolkoms, and the Moscow and Leningrad city gorispolkoms [city soviet executive committees] have been assigned to insure a steady rhythm in construction work, eliminate the lagging that has been permitted in the commissioning of fixed capital, and fulfill construction programs unconditionally.

The RSFSR Ministry of Finance and the RSFSR banks were sharply criticized. Special note was made of the serious shortcomings in the work of the banks in providing loans for individual housing construction and their poor control over the issue of money to cooperatives.

Many unresolved problems remain in housing and the municipal economy. As a result of inadequate attention to this important sector from the planning and supply organs and the residual principle in allocating funding for its development, in many cities and settlements it is in an extremely unsatisfactory state. The RSFSR Ministry of Housing and Municipal Economy and other ministries and departments, and the local soviet and economic organizations have been assigned the task of taking the steps necessary to improve the state of affairs in housing and the municipal economy and to prepare it and other sectors for work during the fall and winter period.

It was noted with special concern at the meeting that the serious shortcomings in the social sphere and in people's working and living conditions, and inattention to their needs on the part of ministries and departments and the ispolkoms of the local soviets, are resulting in the justified dissatisfaction of the population and exacerbating social tensions. It was pointed out that it is necessary to raise the personal responsibility of workers of all ranks for the prompt resolution of social questions.

Ministers and department leaders and the chairman of the councils of ministers in the autonomous republics and the krayispolkoms and oblispolkoms [oblast soviet executive committee] speaking at the meeting raised a number of other questions that require attentive consideration and urgent decisions.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers obliged the RSFSR ministries and departments and local soviet and economic organs to conduct a comprehensive analysis of results of work by particular sectors of the national economy and enterprises and organizations during the first half of 1989 and take effective steps to eliminate shortcomings in economic and financial activity and unconditionally fulfill the annual plan and budget.

Taking into account the extremely tense financial situation, the RSFSR Council of Ministers has demanded that RSFSR ministers and department chiefs and the leaders of the councils of ministers in the autonomous republics and the ispolkoms of the soviets of people's deputies insure strict fulfillment of programs approved by the government for the financial normalization of the economy and the strengthening of money circulation in the RSFSR, and the elimination of unprofitability in the operations of enterprises, a strengthening of the regime of thrift with regard to resources, efficient use of capital investments, loans and budget assets, and strict monitoring of money payments. Special attention should be paid to comprehensive preparations for the transfer to the principles of regional cost accounting, first and foremost those territories that are the first to switch to these conditions as an experiment.

Discussion of the second question took place in a spirit of deep mutual understanding and an elevated sense of responsibility in the matter of providing fraternal help for the Armenian people. It was noted in statements by leaders of the Armenian SSR and others present at the meeting that in regions devastated by the earthquake a

great deal of work is being done in construction and to restore production and sociocultural objects. The creation of bases for the construction subdivisions has in the main been completed and a start has been made to steadily build up volumes of local construction materials. The construction of housing, schools, and children's preschool facilities is proceeding at top speed, and the agroindustrial potential is being restored in rural areas.

At the same time, the acuteness of the problem and the stepped-up nature of the tasks require considerable improvement in the organization of the work of construction workers, and additional staffing for construction organizations with skilled experts, the accelerated preparation of planning-and-estimates documentation, and the delivery of essential construction materials.

It was decided to improve the coordination of actions by the corresponding organs of the RSFSR and the Armenian SSR, and measures were outlined to improve planning and management in production work. It was deemed expedient to continue the practice of joint examination of questions connected with the cleanup following the earthquake.

Leningrad Work Collectives Form 'Association'
LD1208161589 Moscow TASS in English 1559 GMT 12 Aug 89

[Text] Leningrad August 12 TASS—An association of the councils of work collectives has been formed here and is aiming to strengthen workers' self-management at enterprises and concentrate efforts on resolving social and economic problems.

A constituent conference of the new independent public organisation drew delegates from 18 leading enterprises and firms which represent more than 150,000 workers and specialists.

On Saturday the association published an open letter to the Leningrad councils of work collectives, urging them "to make every effort to overcome crisis phenomena and to stabilise the situation in the region."

The association does not set political tasks before itself but is prepared to participate in the forthcoming elections to local governing councils.

"Our workers," emphasised Valentin Sobchenko, who represents the Barricada firm on the association's board, "do not consider admissible such forms of action as strikes in the present-day economic situation. If the association suddenly deems it necessary to resort to this extraordinary measure, we shall immediately withdraw from it," Sobchenko said.

Leningrad Oblast Soviet Chairman Released
LD1208153589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0615 GMT 12 Aug 89

[Text] A session of Leningrad Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies has considered organizational issues. Nikolay Ivanovich Popov has been released from his duties as chairman of the Leningrad Oblast Soviet Executive Committee in connection with his confirmation as first deputy chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Control Committee. Yuriy Fedorovich Yarov, who worked earlier as deputy chairman of Leningrad Oblast Soviet Executive Committee, has been elected as chairman of the Executive Committee of Leningrad Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies.

Chairman Maslyukov Visits Leningrad 23-24 July
PM1108152989 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jul 89 p 1

[LENTASS report: "Yu.D. Maslyukov's Stay in Leningrad"]

[Text] Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, was in our city 23 and 24 July. His trip was connected with the examination of a range of issues pertaining to the economic and social development of the Leningrad region which were raised at the party oblast committee [obkom] plenum and at meetings with working people during the recent trip to Leningrad by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Yu.D. Maslyukov visited the "Zarya" Association, the Chemistry and Pharmaceuticals Institute, the A.I. Herzen Pedagogical Institute, and the Russian Literature Institute (Pushkin House), and familiarized himself with the rebuilding of Volodarskiy Bridge. At Leningrad City Soviet Executive Committee [Gorisopolkom] a conference was held with the directors of the city's leading enterprises at which the problems of converting defense industry sectors in the city's interests were discussed.

The group of specialists accompanying Yu.D. Maslyukov in Leningrad visited a number of Leningrad's enterprises.

Taking part in Yu.D. Maslyukov's meetings with Leningraders were B.V. Gidaspov, first secretary of Leningrad party obkom, and V.Ya. Khodyrev, chairman of Leningrad Gorispolkom.

Yu.D. Maslyukov left for Moscow yesterday [24 July].

Vlasov Presents Russian Federation State Prizes

LD0707231389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] On 7 July a group of scientists and specialists were presented with the diplomas and medals of winners of the state prize of the RSFSR in the sphere of science and technology in Moscow. At the solemn ceremony Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, spoke at the solemn ceremony. He emphasized that, without exception, all the prize-winning works deserve high appraisal. The glory of Russian science and technology is great and indisputable, and now we are honoring a new detachment of enthusiasts who are continuing these great traditions. New scientific and technical achievements are always highly valued by every state, but it is totally impossible to exaggerate their importance for our country at the present decisive stage of restructuring. Without scientific and technical progress, without radical technical reequipment of the enterprises of all industrial sectors, we will hardly be able to solve the main and pressing social tasks of restructuring.

Shcherbitskiy Addresses Ukraine Party Conference

LD1108091289 Kiev in English to Europe 1800 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine has held a conference at which the sociopolitical situation in the republic was discussed and the reasons which caused strikes in certain regions of the republic. Considered were also the tasks of the party, soviet, economic, All-Union Leninist Communist Youth Leaque, and trade union organizations. Speaking at the conference was Vladimir Shcherbitskiy, Politburo member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine.

Kiev Party City Executive Committee Holds Meeting

LD2407154589 Kiev in English to North America 2330 GMT 22 Jul 89

[Text] A plenary meeting of the Kiev party gorkom [city executive committee] was held today. The city party committee's first secretary, Konstantin Masik, asked the meeting to release him from his post. While discussing his request, members of the Communist Party underlined that the restructuring within their ranks so far lags behind the processes going on in the country which tells on the reputation of the party.

Vladimir Shcherbitskiy, first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine Central Committee, said that the Kiev party committee is slow in the assessment of the current events and in making the party's life more democratic.

The request of Konstantin Masik was met by the majority of votes in connection with his appointment to another job.

Also today, the plenary meeting elected Anatoliy Korniyenko, USSR people's deputy and staff member of the CPSU Central Committee, to be leader of the Kiev city party organization.

Belorussian Supreme Soviet Chairman Appointed

PM1108115589 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 29 Jul 89 p 1

[Belorussian Supreme Soviet Resolution "On the Election of Comrade N.I. Dementey as Chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] The Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet resolves:

That Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Dementey is elected chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

[Signed] V. Mikulich, deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium,
L. Syroyegina, secretary of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium,
28 July 1989, Minsk.

Belorussian Supreme Soviet Discusses Chernobyl

PM0908122589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Aug 89 Morning Edition p3

[Own correspondent M. Shimanskiy report under the rubric "Union Republic Supreme Soviet Sessions": "Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic"]

[Text] Minsk—A Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet session was held in Minsk 28-29 July. The first item on the agenda was to find a chairman for the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium. G.S. Tarazevich was appointed chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities Commission for Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations and was released from his duties as chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. N.I. Dementey was elected to this position, having previously worked as secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee.

The discussion of the main question on the session agenda—the state program to eliminate the consequences in the Belorussian SSR of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant [AES]—was exceptionally pointed. Feelings sometimes became extremely heated. A report was delivered by V. Yevtukh, chairman of the republic commission on the elimination of these consequences and first deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers. A total of 37 deputies spoke during the debate. Among them were several USSR people's deputies who were taking part in the work of the session and were deeply concerned by the

situation in the republic resulting from the accident. V. Doguzniyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, had come to Minsk, as well as specialists from Moscow.

The question of the health of children living in these regions was particularly keenly raised. The following fact was cited. In the 1st quarter of this year, only 13 percent of the USSR Health Ministry's recommended amount of whole fruit juice, essential for drawing radionuclides from the system, was supplied to school canteens.

Many similar facts were also cited. Yes, an enormous amount of work has been done to eliminate the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl AES. The total cost of creating exclusion and evacuation zones has already reached R1.835 billion. It will take more than R10 billion to implement all the measures outlined in the program. This program is multifaceted and embraces all aspects of life support for the population in the contaminated zone. It envisages coordinating the activity of the republic's ministries and departments and soviet and economic bodies in resolving all the problems connected with eliminating the consequences of the accident.

The concept of resettling people seems right, Ye. Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee and USSR people's deputy, said in his speech to the session: They cannot possibly be left where there is no possibility of obtaining uncontaminated food or engaging in production and economic activity without any restrictions. But their consent to this must definitely be obtained. We cannot allow people's futures to be decided against their will.

On the other hand, it must be taken into account that in many population centers the level of pollution is not very high. It is quite possible that it will either decline substantially or totally disappear as a result of various measures being implemented. Resettlement is inadvisable in such cases. But in this respect we should definitely listen to the opinions of specialists and the inhabitants themselves.

The Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet did not ratify the proposed program. It decreed that it be adopted only as a basis, that it be subjected to further work, and that the question of its approval be submitted for discussion at the next session in October this year.

A Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet Standing Commission on Questions of Eliminating the Consequences of the Accident at the Chernobyl AES was formed.

Deputies heard a report on the work of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Court and ratified the decrees of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Belorussians Air Complaints Over Radioactivity

PM2607112189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jul 89 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Report by correspondents A. Simurov and A. Ulitenok under the rubric "Echo of Chernobyl": "Belorussian Zone"]

[Text] Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]—It is 3 years since the Chernobyl tragedy. It would seem to be the time to cease feeling, to rid ourselves of fear of the unknown. But time has not healed the Belorussians' pain. The radiation is creeping like a snake through the forests and fields with the spring and topsoil waters and dust storms, with dairy, meat, and grain produce. Something is being done to minimize the disaster but the greatest effort is being spent on debate and argument. These unabating anxieties and delays in elaborating and implementing a plan of specific actions prompted us to travel to the zones struck by radiation. After all, a way out must be sought....

The skillfully executed sign "Zhdanov collective farm" directs us to a green village. The closer we come the more distressing it is: Young grass is pushing through the still fresh asphalt in all directions and the doors of the abandoned kolkhoz [collective farm] stockraising unit are squeaking sadly.... Zapolyanye itself strikes us by its unnatural quiet and deserted appearance: no chickens on the street, no dogs barking, the windows of most of the houses have been boarded up, the roofs of many barns have collapsed.... Surely Chernobyl has not completely killed this village 400 km from the sarcophagus?

But now, seeing strangers wandering down the street, several old women appear. Pelageya Zakharovna Kovganova is in her eighties:

"I live alone, my dears. They took my husband off to the war, and I didn't get a letter.... Now, it's true, as a soldier's widow I get a kilogram of sausage for R3 once a month. That's no small thing, you just try living on a pension of R50 and the R30 from Chernobyl.... Before we were saved by our garden plot, but now they won't even let us eat that; we can't taste our own potatoes or berries or tomatoes—we have to go to the store for almost everything. And the prices are all cooperative prices. So at the end of the month I am always in debt...."

"I couldn't stand it. I got a cow," Nadezhda Antonovna Yevdokimova joins in the conversation. "After all, I was a milkmaid for 30 years, a Stakhanovite. We are strictly forbidden to taste the milk, but sometimes I disobey and take a sip.... The neighbors envy me and they cry in secret—they are bored, they do not have their usual animals, they have nothing to do. That is why all the young people have moved. If they're not needed here than they are needed somewhere. But we weak women are a burden to everyone, we have nowhere to go. But if they gave me some kind of house I would leave mine. This isn't living, is it?"

A flicker of life in the once noisy and beautiful Zapolyanye is maintained by five of these old women. As we said goodbye they asked us to measure the radiation. The result was nearly 0.9 milliroentgen an hour—over 40 times the normal background level. Hence, obviously, the constant headaches of which Pelageya Zakharovna complained and the serious pain in the joints reported by Nadezhda Antonovna. As for us, we immediately felt a tickling in the throat, and it was as though we had dust in our eyes....

Background of Indifference

"Today we are recluses in the full sense of the word, completely surrounded by the red flags marking restricted areas, like wolves in a cage. The garden, the forest, the river have become a kind of skillfully executed plaster model. We feel particularly bad for the children. From 0900 to 1900 they are shut up in creches and school and are not out in the fresh air. For 3 years! But a child is not a pensioner, he needs to romp, to walk, to swim...."
(From a letter to PRAVDA from 116 inhabitants of Deryazhni village, Kostyukovichskiy Rayon)

Some 1.5 km through the field and we are already in Kulikovka. The contamination level here is incomparably lower and so in addition to pensioners several families with children have also stayed in their own homes. It was anxiety for them which lent our talk with the villagers a nature quite different from that of the conversation in Zapolyanye. The endless visits by commissions and inspectors of all ranks, the contradictory nature of the forecasts, the vagueness of the future have so sharpened people's perception that any incautious word or unconsidered action is painful to them. As was the case, for instance, for Mariya Lavrentyevna Kovganova when one military man gave her the following "advice:" "Rather than eat your apples, lady, it would be better to cut down the orchard, cover it with asphalt, and set up an enclosure for the small children...." But Mariya Lavrentyevna's 7-year-old daughter has already been in hospital three times—she has thyroid trouble [shchitovidka] and her eyesight has deteriorated drastically....

Literally everyone was angry at the quality of decontamination. It is low not only because of the poor degree of technical equipment of the military subunits but also because of elementary hack work. It reached the point where the commander directly asked for a forged work sheet to be signed—blasphemy, there's no other word for it. When they refused some of the soldiers were removed completely. The remainder work in the following way: "Our job is to take away the gravel, the rest is up to you...." Up to who—are we going to put spades into the hands of old women?

"I have no one to harvest the grain or tend the livestock," V. Pogodin, chairman of the local Kuybyshev kolkhoz, said gloomily. "Since the beginning of the summer alone 24 families have left. Of the specialists there is one veterinarian left, there is no one to appoint even as a team leader not to mention the vacancy for the post of party committee secretary....

Incidentally, I myself was appointed only recently. The picture is the same for our neighbors, the "Sovetskaya Belorussiya" kolkhoz and the Gorkiy kolkhoz: Literally all specialists have resigned. It is a case of the mass withdrawal of cadres. Persuasion and promises to not work. And it is understandable. For instance, the other day the meat combine again returned the cattle trucks: "Your steer are 'dirty....'"

V. Drozdov is one of the few young men here:

"Never mind the animals, I measured the background radiation in the bedroom and I was horrified! But they told me: 'We need you here!' Who needs me and for what? I have been pestering people for 3 years: 'Sell me a Zhiguli, I have to travel to find clean food for the children.' But in response there is not a word, everyone should be equal in the face of shortages, you see! And in the face of radiation?"

Further on, the road through the Chernobyl regions of Belorussia which had taken two-thirds of the radiation blow, merely repeated and provided more detail and variety for what we had seen in Slavgorodskiy Rayon. A grave, even tragic picture. People's mood today is perhaps similar to what it was after the accident. The situation, which had been partly stabilized 2 years ago, began to be sharply aggravated approximately last fall.

The substantial expansion of information on the initial consequences of the accident, the results of preventive work, and about how promissory notes issued initially are being paid off have had an effect. There is no doubt that an enormous volume of possible measures have been carried out for the sake of the health of man and the earth. The Belorussian zone is 0.5 million people living mainly in Gomel and Mogilev oblasts, one-fifth of all the republic's agricultural land. Immediately after the explosion nearly 25,000 adults and children were evacuated from three southern rayons and 170 well appointed settlements were constructed for them. At the same time the old villages and hamlets were cleaned and reconstructed. Special institutes of radio biology and medical radiology were opened....

It is a question of the "average hospital" temperature so to speak which, as is well known, is always normal. But as for the state of individual "wards" and especially "patients," it is "hot" here. Especially in Mogilev Oblast, where the consequences of the failure to fulfill resolutions on the Chernobyl nuclear electric power stations [AES] were displayed to the greatest degree. And it was the absence of a tested strategy and precise tactics with regard to highly contaminated zones which primarily had an effect here.

For instance, to this day people are living in Chudyany and Malinovka villages where 140 curies per square meter have been recorded—this bears no comparison with Zapolyanye, still less with Kulikovka. Essentially an experiment into the human organism's super-endurance has been going on for 3 years now. But whereas the members of the renowned skiing expedition to the North Pole were awarded orders, the Chudyany are today being offered only orders to a newly erected settlement.

Out of lofty patriotic settlements, without spending long in thought, they christened it Mayskiy and they sited it...literally a few kilometers from Chudyany itself. To put it more clearly, on a minefield—the ground under the new cottages also has "background radiation" and threatens people's health. Although to a lesser degree than in the old houses. Incidentally, in all about 80,000 people live on a territory with a contamination density of over 15 curies.

We realize very well that some people will assess the caustic bitterness of the preceding paragraph in an exclusively traditional way: That is how journalists heat the atmosphere and inflate panic! Yes, PRAVDA has frequently written about Belorussia's problems since the accident. But it has not "inflated" them or "heated" them—it has merely strictly recorded reality and criticized the lack of resolve in the actions of republican and union organs in decontaminating the zones. But little has changed for the better since these items were published. Ordinary formal replies instead of the adoption of effective measures began to reach the newspaper, behind which are millions of readers, more frequently.

Who Are We Hiding From?

"At a meeting with us one of the republic's leaders stated: 'Your village is next to a branch line, we shall bring in clean milk and you will live to be 100.' He obviously said this from the height of his pensionable age, forgetting that man does not live by milk alone. Even clean milk will not stifle the permanent anxiety for our health or the memory of our former free and easy ways... Help us move to a clean zone!
(From a letter from 61 inhabitants of Bartolomeyevka village).

PRAVDA's enormous mail shows how people's attitude has changed toward the bureaucratic "game." There were pleading, entreating letters straight away. Then came resolutions from meetings issuing ultimatums and demands for instance in Cherikov and Krasnopolye. And now the envelope containing V. Petrovich's story about the many days' strike in Narovlya, the damage from which was over R300,000! Why have a number of the enterprises there embarked on this step unprecedented in Belorussia? The explanation is always the same: "The authorities do not want to respond with deeds to our justified demands and even the republican commission for the elimination of the consequences of the accident avoids a frank, honest talk with us." Let us note that the strike nonetheless did impel a talk: Three members of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee—N. Dementey, V. Yevtukh, and Yu. Khusainov—and Health Minister V. Ulashchik immediately traveled to Narovlya. They were nonetheless called to book.

Nonetheless, despite just serious warnings about the zone's possible very keen reaction to the authorities' apathetic actions, the lesson is of no avail. The Atomenergo [expansion unknown], the Ministry of Health, and other departments are continuing to have their own way, trying to reverse cause and effect and to put the blame on the innocent.

The Mogilev region aktiv has resolutely opposed charges of being reluctant to work with the masses, of being unable to "neutralize the demagogues, loudmouths, and troublemakers," the charges of consumerism, of a dependent mentality. A special resolution of the oblast party committee bureau and the oblast soviet executive committee noted that the republican and union commissions have been more successful not in rendering timely, varied, and highly effective aid but in monitoring the fulfillment of contradictory and inconsistent recommendations, in issuing endless assurances to people that everything is normal and nothing terrible will happen: "They made their proposals to the government commission not from positions of the struggle for man's health but most often from the position of the interests of the departments, of unverified principles, and abstract conclusions."

It is hard to offer any other explanation today for the decision to hold May Day demonstrations everywhere immediately after the explosion, which had a pernicious effect on the health of tens of thousands of people. And the millions of rubles spent in vain on blindly building in the zone? Take just the example of Krasnopolskiy Rayon, where 60 stores were erected where no one wants to live now, where a cattle fattening complex was erected on a territory with a contamination density of 49 curies per square kilometer.... This list includes the abovementioned settlement of Mayskiy, 30 Gomel Oblast villages constructed on a territory with a contamination density of 5-26 curies per square kilometer. It is no accident that on the private farms of Narovlyanskiy, Vetkovskiy, Yelskiy, Checherskiy, and other rayons 60-85 percent of the milk is contaminated. Its "quality" is virtually the same on the kolkhozes and state farms [sovkhozes] here.

Is it not for that reason that they made the mistake of keeping in the safes for a whole 3 years the maps with the radiation situation marked "secret"... According to V. Nesterenko, corresponding member of the Belorussian Academy of Sciences, as early as 1986 he personally took a map of the contamination of the Mogilev area to the oblast soviet executive committee. It showed 36 population centers like Chudyany. The oblast immediately raised

the question of resettling 1,494 people. Alas.... Today, it is true, the relevant decision has been taken. Moreover, it has been amended by multiplying the figure several times over.

But what can justify or explain taking such an immoderately long time to reach agreements in the republican and union instances? And who precisely delayed and gave a top-level go-ahead to obviously unconsidered decisions? Until we find the culprits and answers to all yesterday's questions which perturb us, the people will have no confidence in tomorrow.

The Bureaucrat Triumphs....

"I ensure radiation monitoring on my farm. At first I used the DP-5 device, now they have also issued me with a DRG. But while the former shows 0.14 milliroentgens the latter shows 0.22. Which to believe? This discrepancy is so irritating!"
(From letter from I.M. Ryzhankov, "Lesnaya" sovkhoz, Slavgorodskiy Rayon)

Let us repeat that it was not "excessive" glasnost but the critical shortage of truthful information which gave rise to the sickness called radiophobia. We should clarify that and set about treating it. But the authors of the bureaucratic delays, trying to avoid responsibility, are on the contrary trying to present fear of radiation as something disgraceful, almost shameful.

What ultimately can you say about the only alpha-spectrometer in the whole republic when the simplest and most essential devices—individual dosimeters—are completely lacking. Why? Specialists from the "Izotop" firm explain that their production has been delayed by the Health Ministry and the Ministry of Internal Affairs so as..."not to fuel passions"! Well I never! After all this device should be as commonplace in every home as a thermometer or gage.

And surely we can understand the fear of those machine operators who refuse to work on tractors without cabins with special hermetic sealing and ventilation? This year nearly half as many of these tractors were allocated as were requested—again a simple problem obvious to everyone has not been resolved after 3 years. Or take the following fact: Some 69 Gomel Oblast farms with contamination of 15 curies and more per square kilometer have no laundries, even now elementary showers have not been installed on 174 individual farms, and there is a shortage of soap and detergents....

This and much else is encouraging fear of radiation among some people and complete indifference and apathy among others, which is having an equally pernicious effect on people's health. It is seriously worrying literally all local doctors. Specialists may not now link various ailments directly with the effect of "peaceful" atomic energy, but does that make it any easier? Although there is an increase in disease, the Belorussian Health Ministry's requests for medical supplies are being satisfied at best by two-thirds while only 60 percent of its equipment requests are being satisfied.

The latter fact is particularly disturbing. After all, perhaps the only point on which the views of literally everyone coincide is anxiety for the potential consequences of the radiation of the thyroid gland with radioactive iodine, mainly in many thousands of children. The worst can be prevented by means of excellent preventive work and early diagnosis, which cannot be provided without ultrasound scanners. There are none of these in the country, hard currency is required to buy them. Melbourne businessman F. Rappoport, whose origins are in Belorussia, has acquired 20 of the required apparatuses for his fellow countrymen. The deal he proposes allows the country to save tens of thousands of dollars—displaying charity and magnanimity, the firm has renounced its own profit. The Minsk people have visited the USSR Health Ministry on three occasions but have returned with nothing from deputy ministers V. Gromyko and G. Sergeyev.

The Australian Rappoport said when he visited his homeland:
"The cause lies in inertia, in the fear of responsibility and initiative... Even in the period of the people's grief many bureaucrats remain cool and each tries to blame the other, while bureaucracy unprecedented in the world remains unpunished...."

Rumors or Reality?

"When we informed the government leader openly and without omissions of what pained us, Nikolay Ivanovich said that much of what he had heard was news to him. To whose advantage was it to embroider on reality and to misinform Comrade Ryzhkov?"
(From letter from Z.N. Tkacheva, USSR people's deputy).

A group of people's deputies from Belorussia recently appealed to V. Shcherbina, chairman of the government commission for eliminating the results of the accident and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and received a reply....

"It is couched in the best traditions of bureaucratic paperwork," V. Goncharik, chairman of the Belorussian trade unions council and one of the request's authors, believes. "Well known facts and provisions are repeated while once again there are no specific replies to precisely formulated questions. Yet again we are promised assistance with medical equipment and radiation monitoring means but when exactly this long-awaited miracle will take place and who precisely will be responsibility for the precision of the deadlines is unclear. Nor is there a proper businesslike reaction to the proposal to adjust the mechanism of material aid to the zone's inhabitants, there is complete confusion here and it angers almost everyone."

It is also strange that yet again no arguments have been heard about the inexpediency of using the republic's forces to carry out an enormous volume of construction and installation work outside the republic when there is no one at all to erect housing for the evacuated Belorussian peasants. Thus, the 18 villages of the "Paluzhskiy" sovkhoz are in line for priority resettlement. But how long will they have to stand in line when the new settlement is being constructed by...four people!

The draft state comprehensive program for eliminating the consequences of the accident is being discussed with animation everywhere now and its painstaking investigation at a session of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet is being prepared. We are familiar with this 350-page work. And we cannot fail to share the precisely formulated public opinion that the program is scarcely likely to work or to heal the Belorussian land of its serious ailment if its fulfillment is placed on the shoulders of the republic alone. After all over R8 billion have to be assimilated. The republic's own funds, budget, and manpower resources are obviously insufficient here. Unless the entire country comes to its assistance, unless we all bring our weight to bear on the disaster as is happening in Armenia, for instance, then much of what is most important for the destiny of a whole nation will remain simply a good intention.

The anxiety is not without foundation. The recent visit of a group of experts from the World Health Organization and scientists and specialists from Moscow and Leningrad caused real confusion in the minds of the Belorussian population and leadership. The guests assessed highly the work done in 3 years (let us explain that so far over R1 billion have been assimilated) and gave assurances that nothing terrible, unpredicted, or uncontroled was happening. In the opinion of Academician L. Ilin, vice president of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences and chairman of the National Committee for Radiation Protection [NKRZ], the main trouble right now is that the emotional and psychological perception of the accident's consequences has been sharply aggravated in the republic. "A spiritual Chernobyl is being blown up," as he put it.

Is There a Dose of Kindness?

"A new milkmaid came to us from Krasnopolye. A good woman who worked hard. Suddenly we found out that there was a strict sanction in her party card. "For political immaturity and pusillanimity in the period of radioactive contamination." A dreadful thing: This was for the mother of five small children! And how many people in all have been expelled from the party, how many destinies have been broken.... We believe that these people's party and civic rehabilitation is needed, they are by no means panic-mongers, cowards, or traitors—they are the victims of a tragedy."
(From letter from members of the "Mayak kommunizma" kolkhoz, Mogilevskiy Rayon)

Belorussian scientists headed by B. Platonov, president of the Belorussian Academy of Sciences, disagreed with the NKRZ concept and put forward their own alternative concept. Whereas L. Ilin and his colleagues proceed from a calculation of the maximum dose impact on a person for his entire life, V. Platonov and his supporters proceed from the density of the contamination of the area with radioactive substances: If a person cannot live where clean food cannot be obtained, where there are any restrictions, where anomalous effects are recorded, because then the dose of radiation you receive is of no importance. The former cite all preceding world experience, the latter assert that Chernobyl is an absolutely unique phenomenon and consequently unpredictable from the viewpoint of today's fundamental research and observations. Is it not that which explains the fact that to this day there is no single opinion about the number of villages which should be evacuated? There is one figure in Moscow, the figure in Mogilev is many times greater. Who is right?

When the NKRZ concept was severely criticized at a meeting with the oblast's public, the foreign guests who supported it objected: "But your state does not have the funds for mass evacuation!" A little later the concept's immediate authors angrily defended this response: "Since the New Year Belorussia has switched to regional economic accountability, so let it back up its own program itself."

We should like to hope that these words were uttered in the heat of the moment, in the heat of a dispute. But anyone who really thinks this way should remember that neither the Mogilev people nor the inhabitants of Gomel, Brest, or Minsk had anything to do with the accident. They are victims and have the right to present an account themselves.

As for regional economic accountability, it should be remembered that together with its Baltic neighbors Belorussia is the first to embark on the elaboration of this new model of economic management and is paving the way for the whole country. In that case it is hardly sensible to complicate the trailblazers' already difficult path. Especially as the burden of Chernobyl is already having such a pernicious effect on the republic's economic health.

And one more argument for consideration: According to the Mogilev people's calculations, expenditure on ensuring the population's safe survival under present conditions will in 5-8 years exceed the expenditure necessary for the construction of housing, sociocultural and consumer services, and production in the clean regions.

...As we left Slavgorod we wondered why the Zhdanov Kolkhoz with which our tour of the zone had begun had not been included among the "alarming" farms. It turned out that it had been renamed. Someone from

above had suggested: "We'd better call it 'Revolution,' hadn't we?" Well, they did call it that, but there was no one to replace the entry sign...

No one. In 3 years one-sixth of the rayon's population—mainly young people, specialists, and machine operators—have left their homes. According to rayon party committee second secretary L. Bubnov, "the most skilled, experienced, and reliable people have left...."

"Some 4,775 people have also left us and more than 1,000 more intend to move today," I. Titenkov, first secretary from Krasnopolye, said. "There is a mass exodus of cadres, our backbone itself is leaving. Many people are not leaving only because they have nowhere to go and nothing to go with. They are waiting for help from the government. If there is no help somehow they will all get together and go where they can. But with a tremendous grievance against the bosses, the authorities, and the state...."

Yes, they did put right the mistake over the kolkhoz's name, albeit later. And in time they will also put the road sign right. But they cannot delay over the fate of the kolkhoz members and the zone's entire population. It is time to decide what is finally going to happen. People are tired of waiting. They want to live. To live a normal human life without fear and stress. The people are waiting for a precise, intelligible, regulated reply.

Paper Defends Belorussian People's Front

18300739 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Jul 89 p 12

[Article by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent Anatoliy Kozlovich: "13 Days"]

[Text] As we have already reported, the constituent congress of the Belorussian People's Front for Perestroyka "Adradzhenne" ("Renaissance") has been held in the capital of Lithuania rather than in the capital of Belorussia (see LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 28 June 1989). In the words of one BNF [Belorussian People's Front] leader, 462 delegates and about 300 guests have asked for "short-term political asylum" in the neighboring republic. You would agree that this has been an extraordinary fact.

So, what is the BNF? Since the fall of last year it has existed in the form of the organizational committee and support groups created in the field. By the time of the constituent congress (24-25 June 1989, Vilnius), approximately 40,000 persons belonged to the BNF. Leaders of the movement use the word "approximately" because the BNF membership is not fixed. Its "syabry" ("friends") have the right to freely join and leave the organization. The strongest support groups (up to 100 persons) have emerged at industrial enterprises. There are about 80 members of the BNF in the BSSR [Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic] Union of Writers.

What are the goals of the BNF? I am quoting their statute: "to defend the interests of the people, to awaken the social initiative and involvement of the people, to develop their political and legal culture, social and national awareness, to ensure the irreversible character of perestroyka in the BSSR, to fight any attempts to slow down or set back the process of democratization in the republic."

From the very first days on, the activities of the Belorussian People's Front were covered in the republic press. Respectable publications appeared one after the other: "Foam on the Wave of Perestroyka," "Evolution of Political Ignorance," "Barrier of Political Blindness..." Letters of workers were regularly published which maintained that a handful of usurper-intellectuals does nothing but read books and eat our bread. The first issue of the journal POLITICHESKIY SOBESEDNIK this year referred to the BNF as the "Bykov Front" (USSR People's Deputy writer V. Bykov takes part in the movement).

A new wave of protests against the BNF swept through the pages of newspapers in mid-June of this year. According to press reports, within less than 2 weeks (between 12 and 23 June), hundreds of rallies, meetings, and manifestations under the same slogan were held in the republic: We do not need the People's Front. Hundreds of resolutions were passed in the cities and villages: We will not allow anything to be changed in "the existing sociopolitical system of the country." For 13 days Belorussia in essence rejected the need to create a front in support of perestroyka.

The official communique "In the Presidium of the BSSR Supreme Soviet," published in the newspapers on Sunday 11 June, became a pretext for the new campaign. It was communicated that representatives of the BNF organizational committee citizens M.F. Dubenetskiy and V.V. Zhibul had filed a petition with the Presidium requesting that cooperation be given in organizing the constituent congress, but had kept the composition, program, and statute of the organization secret. The summary was as follows: "If the issue of a social organization rallying representatives of all strata of the people around the ideas of perestroyka is raised, it should be done openly."

I asked Dubenetskiy, one of the citizen-petitioners: "Indeed, why the secrecy in this important endeavor?" He is a communist, a writer. He worked at the publishing house "Belorussian Soviet Encyclopedia," headed the publishing house "Mastatskaya Literatura." After a severe illness he had to retire. The answer to my question was as follows:

"They are the ones playing secrecy, not we. Look at the documents."

It turns out that the petition (24 May) with a request to cooperate in holding the BNF constituent congress in Minsk was also signed by USSR People's Deputies V.V. Bykov, A.O. Dobrovolskiy, A.G. Zhuravlev, and N.I. Ignatovich, on top of Dubenetskiy and Zhibul, who were mentioned. There was no reference to that in the official communique of the BSSR Supreme Soviet.

On 17 June a meeting of voters with USSR people's deputies who had just come back from the congress was held at the Minsk Palace of Political Education. An appeal to the Presidium of the republic Supreme Soviet was adopted at this meeting: "We request that permission be given for holding the constituent congress of the Belorussian People's Front 'Adradzhenne' in Minsk on 24 and 25 June 1989." And below: "We believe that a favorable resolution of this issue will eliminate tension in the social life of the republic and will become a genuine contribution to the democratization of our society." The Presidium of the BSSR Supreme Soviet also did not release this document.

I will repeat this: The supreme administration reproached the organizational committee for failing to submit its documents and for people being unaware of its program. However, as early as 18 November 1988 the BNF organizational committee approached the Presidium of the BSSR Supreme Soviet with a request to help publish its program materials in the republic newspapers so people could familiarize themselves with the materials and discuss and evaluate them. There has been no reply.

Chairman of the Presidium of the BSSR Supreme Soviet G.S. Tarazevich attended several party meetings of writers. He was asked to help in getting the BNF materials published. He would say: We will see, we will consider this. However, the press continued to disseminate the cliche concerning the BNF which was in stock from the fall of 1988 on: "a handful of extremists."

Did the BNF program materials present any threat? I am looking at yet another document: "To Prosecutor of the city of Minsk V.R. Ivanov. I bring to your attention the fact that on 24 March of this year a team of militiamen led by Captain S.V. Podlinskiy broke down the door of my office (Frunze Street 5, Room 306, BSSR Union of Writers). At the time a search was conducted and publications of the BNF 'Adradzhenne'—the newspaper NAVINY—and my personal belongings, were confiscated illegally. A. Yemelyanov, literary consultant of the BSSR Union of Writers"

Here are the details of the event. Late at night the guardians of order wearing the helmets of firefighters rushed into the House of Writers and stated that a call had been made to the militia about a bomb supposedly placed in the building. It is instructive that they came to search for the bomb without a metal detector. Boldly and without fear of dying in the explosion, the militiamen found what they were looking for—BNF newspapers with the program published in them—and they retired. "The bomb" was needed in order to justify an illegal search not authorized by the prosecutor.

A meeting of writers also sent a protest to the office of the city prosecutor. A response was received. Passing in silence over the illegal nature of the action at the House of Writers, the prosecutor's office maintained that "materials of an overtly antisocialist nature" were found in the BNF newspaper.

I am not analyzing the BNF program here; the specialists and the people should do that. I will only enumerate in brief what the official republic authorities accuse the BNF of: It calls into doubt the leading role of the CPSU, proposes the primacy of republic over all-union laws, and advocates national isolation... Let me decode this: The BNF proposes to repeal point 6 on the CPSU from the USSR Constitution, transfer legislative initiative to the republics, and switch to complete republic economic accountability. Can one argue with this program? One can and should because much is unclear in this matter. However, can this program, this point of view be considered "antisocialist" and "in opposition to the CPSU" if the same ideas were recently voiced in the high forum of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies?

People's poet of Belorussia P. Panchenko sent a letter to the constituent congress of the BNF: Since you are in favor of perestroyka, in favor of native culture, in favor of democracy—I am with you. However, he called on the People's Front members right away to expel from their ranks irresponsible people demanding secession from the USSR.

Are there such "irresponsible people" in the BNF? Yes. The BNF does not put up with them. For example, the organizational committee succeeded in preventing a scheduled mass hunger strike by young people; it did not support the concept of an unauthorized meeting by students of the theater and art institute on 25 March. "Our movement strives neither for wealth nor power... We have embarked on a difficult path of democratic transformation in life... For this reason let us get moving, let us work." These are the words of V. Bykov. His speech was read at the congress in Vilnius because at the time the writer was on a business trip abroad. He was elected in absentia to the leading body of the BNF, the Soym, of which Zenon Poznyak, an archaeologist and journalist, became chairman.

Let us backtrack once again to the time when the BNF still was not a fully developed "self-established" social organization, and when the organizational committee was humbly knocking on the doors of officialdom. The issue: Was the decision of the Presidium of the BSSR Supreme Soviet banning the congress legal or not? In the press the legal interpretation was provided by BSSR Deputy Minister of Justice V.M. Lovchiy: "It is entirely logical that in authorizing the creation of a particular organization (association) the goals and tasks of its

activities should be evaluated first of all... Speaking on behalf of the people, the representatives of the organizational committee through their very actions remove the people from taking part in working out the status of the organization, ensuring genuine democracy and glasnost..."

Candidate of Jurisprudence S. Levshunov interprets the situation with the congress from the point of view of the law more definitively. Taking issue with the deputy minister of justice, he maintains that a "political review" of the program documents is only possible after the constituent congress of a new social organization has been held because "any draft may be considerably changed and even rejected during its discussion at the constituent congress." In the process, the jurist referred to... 1932 regulations.

Undoubtedly a clear and modern law on procedures for setting up social structures is needed. After all, they will keep proliferating. As far as the ban on the BNF congress is concerned, it looks like the law was no object in this at all. This was a purely political rather than administrative decision. This was acknowledged without reservation by the chairman of the BSSR Supreme Soviet, writer I. Naumenko. Having reported that the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies had analyzed and resolved all and everything in our society, and having frightened the people with "extremists," he concluded: "At present there is no need to create various fronts; we should appear as a single front."

The BNF is not needed. This is what had to be proven. To this end, the press was put in operation. What about people?

After the Vilnius congress I visited the collectives in which meetings had been held demanding that the congress not be authorized.

Minsk Secondary School No 155. "We believe that we do not need one more representative of the people"—this is from the resolution adopted prior to the BNF congress. After the congress, school principal L.A. Lokhanskaya told me: "We are not familiar with the program of the People's Front. How can we adopt it when we know nothing? In general, our women are afraid that this People's Front will do something bad, disturbances..."

The Minsk Garments Industry Association "Komsomolka." On 12 June (2 days after the publication of the presidium communique), a meeting of the aktiv resolved: "When program materials are submitted by the organizational committee they should be published in the press. We are convinced that following the past Congress of USSR People's Deputies, those who initiated creation of the BNF will not gain mass support."

These opinions are very much alike! It is exactly their similarity that is frightening.

What was the outcome of these 13 days in Belorussia, this baker's dozen? On the last day, 23 June, an information communique was published on the CPB [Communist Party of Belorussia] Central Committee Plenum which considered the item "On Reinforcing the Influence of Party Committees and Organizations on the Sociopolitical Situation in the Republic at the Present Stage." Ye.Ye. Sokolov made a report calling for the reinforcement of political work on an argumentative denunciation of the goals of this "movement" (he meant the BNF—in his words "a structure of an extremist direction"). PRAVDA brought criticism of this report (1 July). I will quote a paragraph from the resolution of the plenum: "The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia supports the decision of labor collectives, soviets of people's deputies, the Belorussian Republic Council of Trade Unions, and other social organizations on the inadmissibility of creating political structures in opposition to the CPSU."

In this manner the BNF received a political reference.

What is going to happen next? Dialogue? Search for a compromise? Confrontation?

I am a member of the CPSU (I do not belong to the BNF). According to the party statute, I am entitled to approach any echelon of the party. Besides, as a journalist I am trying to understand: Why could not my party take that one step in the direction of the BNF? Yes, indeed, the party. The BNF may have ambitions, but not the party, because the party is more flexible. A social organization uniting 40,000 Soviet people has the same right to its own dignity as the CPSU uniting almost 20 million Soviet people. However, the party has assumed the obligation of being wiser...

What next? I wanted to ask Secretary of the CPB Central Committee for Ideology V.A. Pechennikov about this but he refused to see me, referring me (through his secretary) to the ideological department. I called Department Chief S.Ye. Pavlov to make an appointment.

"What for?" he asked me.

"I would like to learn about your point of view on the BNF situation."

"I do not have a point of view."

"Pardon me..."

"For you I don't."

"Can I report this in the press?"

"Do you really represent all of the press?"

"No, I represent my newspaper."

Georgian Rector Disclaims Authorship of Article

LD1108143089 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 22 Jul 89 p 3

[Article by Vilius Kavaliauskas, entitled "He Has Disclaimed Authorship...."]

[Text] On 12 July, PRAVDA newspaper published an article authored by Doctor of Juridical Science, N. Mikhalyova and Candidate of Philosophy Science, Sh. Papidze, entitled "The Federative Union." The article sharply criticized the processes, currently under way in the Baltic Republics, and labeled them categorically.

The publication aroused angry reactions, even in the USSR Supreme Soviet, forcing even the highest officials of our country to comment on it. Unable to agree with PRAVDA's assertions, the newspaper TIESA published the material under discussion, on 14 Jul.

Recently TIESA's editorial office received the 15 Jul copy of the Georgian Party Central Committee Organ, ZARYA VOSTOKA, containing a unique response to the PRAVDA publication. It contains a note of protest, addressed to PRAVDA Editor, V. Afanasiyev, by the Rector of the Georgian CP CC [Communist Party Central Committee] University For Marxism and Leninism, Sh. Papidze, one of the authors of that article.

Sh. Papidze explains, he had very little to do with the article, since he had provided the editorial office with some personal reflections of his, pertaining to his own republic (Georgia). He only saw his name under the publication, and final version of the article, on 12 Jul in PRAVDA.

Sh. Papidze states, "as far as the wide generalizations of the Baltic republics are concerned, I wish to point out, they are entirely the creation of the pen of the esteemed, N. Michalyova."

It appears, the doubt expressed in TIESA pages, regarding the authors' competence, was correct. Our central press colleagues acted in an unethical fashion (if not in a criminal fashion) by placing foreign thoughts on their author's lips. But who will issue a denial of the false information published in a publication which has a circulation in the millions? PRAVDA, after all, did not publish the Georgian scientist's denial.

Internal Affairs Ministry Sums Up Fergana Damages

LD1208142889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1258 GMT 12 Aug 89

[Presented by Valeriy Bakarinov]

[Text] Hello, comrades. We have received information from the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs that sums up in an original way the recent events in the Fergana Valley [video shows people on the streets, smouldering buildings, and burnt-out cars, internal troops on the streets, general damage, and the bodies of victims]. One hundred and five people died as a result of the mass disorders; 1,056 arson attacks and pogroms were carried out, including attacks on 754 residential buildings; 275 motor vehicles were destroyed, including 214 private vehicles; and 1,011 people were injured. There was a total of 2,445 criminal episodes. Currently, all 58 of the criminal cases initiated due to the abovementioned facts have been combined into 16 cases according to territorial principle; 278 investigators are involved in their investigation, including 136 people from the Procuracy, 112 from the internal affairs bodies, and 30 from the committee for state security. By 24 July 1989, 157 people were brought to criminal responsibility; 111 of them were arrested. The Ministry of Internal Affairs investigators concluded their investigations and sent to court three criminal cases against eight persons. Evidence has been gathered against dozens of specific persons involved in crimes, as well as evidence about episodes of pogroms and arson attacks which were carried out.

Commission on Turkish Meskhetians Meets

LD1108134889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1222 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 11 August (TASS)—A regular meeting has taken place here of the deputies' commission on problems of the Turkish-Meskhetian population. Since it was created, the commission has analyzed and summed up a number of materials and proposals submitted by union republics and central ministries and departments.

Commission members visited areas densely-populated by Turks, including the Uzbek and Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, krays and autonomous republics of the Northern Caucasus, and also Kursk, Voronezh, and Belgorod Oblasts of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], where families transported out of Fergana Oblast following the known tragic events have taken shelter.

In accordance with a decision by the USSR Council of Ministers, in oblasts of the RSFSR assigned for the temporary accommodation of Turkish-Meskhetians, they are being provided with housing, work, material assistance, and medical services.

The commission has taken into consideration that the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee has adopted a decision providing a political appraisal of the events in the fergana oblast which led to human casualties and destruction and also to the departure of Turkish-Meskhetians from the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic. It was noted that measures are being taken in the republic for the normalization of the situation; officials have been brought to account, and criminal proceedings have been instigated over instances of mass disorder.

The commission mapped out measures for the forthcoming period.

Representatives of the Turkish-Meskhetian population took part in the discussion of questions at the meeting.

Tajik Supreme Soviet Debates Language Law

PM2507151989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jul 89 Second Edition p 4

[TAJIKTA—TASS report: "Language Debate at Focus of Attention"]

[Text] Dushanbe, 21 Jul—The 10th session of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation has opened here today. At the focus of the deputies' attention is the Tajik SSR draft law on language which has been preliminarily published in the local press.

G. Pallayev, chairman of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, noted in his report that the main aim in adopting this law is to bestow state language status on the Tajik language. This will enhance its prestige and role in the republic's political, economic, and social life and stimulate its development.

At the same time, the draft law emphasizes that the Tajik SSR recognizes the equality of other languages and ensures legal guarantees and respect for all languages in use in the republic and upholds the inalienable right of citizens of any nationality to the development of their language and culture. The Russian language, as a means of interethnic communication with peoples of other Soviet republics, is used freely on the territory of Tajikistan. The draft law makes provision for the development of the languages prevalent in the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast.

A heated debate took place on the question under discussion. In view of the great number of amendments and suggestions introduced in respect of the draft law by deputies, the decision on passing the law has been postponed to the following day of the session.

Commission To Arrive in Nagorno-Karabakh

NC2107154789 Yerevan Domstic Service in Armenian 1600 GMT 20 Jul 89

[Text] A sanctioned meeting was held last Tuesday [18 July] at Victory Square in the capital of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] attended by a few thousand people.

Robert Kocheryan, secretary of the party executive committee at the NKAO silk combine; Boris Dadamyan, USSR people's deputy and director of the Stepanakert Transportation-Production Association; Valeri Atajanyan, first secretary of the Stepanakert party city committee; Hamlet Grigoryan, dean of the Stepanakert branch of the Kirovakan teaching school, and others addressed the meeting, calling attention to the upcoming investigatory work of the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission on NKAO. The Karabakh people were called upon to create all the necessary conditions for the fruitful functioning of the commission; they should in no way succumb to possible intrigues; restraint, sensibility and high degree of culture—the characteristics of Artsakh people—must override the emotions.

The participants in the meeting expressed the hope that the parliamentary commission will be able to work productively and reveal that the demands of the Armenian population of NKAO are just.

Replying to an ARMENPRES correspondent's question as to what one should expect from the commission's investigation, Zori Balayan, USSR people's deputy from NKAO, said: I prefer to remain uncommitted right now. I think no one should make predictions. We need nothing more than impartiality. It is for the first time that the NKAO problem is being solved by the state at the state level. Only one thing is required: The approach toward a solution to the problem should be statist and impartial. The people have long been tired of deceit, and where impartiality exists, deceit cannot exist. I am convinced that the problem will be solved as life and restructuring demand. The Karabakh people have waited long for that commission, said Zori Balayan, and added that the commission has already started arriving in the oblast. Not all of its members have arrived; the rest will be coming after 2 days.

The situation has been relatively calm in NKAO for the last 2 days. In general, the roads have not been blockaded, but people still fear to travel on them.

Republican 'Culture' Centers To Open in Moscow

LD2507110489 Moscow TASS in English 0956 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 25 TASS—Culture-and-information and trade centres of all union republics are planned to open in Moscow within the next year and a half, Vladimir Filippov, head of the deputy ethnic relations' commission, recently formed at the Moscow City Council, told journalists here.

Moscow Council deputies supported the proposal to form Moldavia's cultural centre in Moscow and also the Russian Federation's House of Peoples Friendship. A cinema-house is to open in Moscow to show feature and documentary films made by studios of union and autonomous republics of the country.

"Ethnic culture societies of Ukrainians, Belorussians, Jews, Tatars, Armenians and Tajiks have been recently formed in Moscow", Vladimir Filippov said. "These are concrete steps to put into life the resolution 'On Ethnic Relations', which was adopted at the all-union party conference last year. The resolution stresses that nationalities, who reside beyond the boundaries of their territorial-state entities, or who do not have them, should

have more possibilities to meet their national-cultural requirements, particularly in the sphere of education, communication, handicrafts and to establish ethnic culture centres".

The societies, which have been formed, are not based on purely national principles, Filippov stressed. They are ready to grant membership to any people, irrespective of their nationality, all who show interest in culture or language of that or other nationality. We are assisting ethnic societies in renting premises, opening Sunday schools and language courses, and in establishing libraries.

Decree on Geneva Convention Protocols Published

PM1108122189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 1

["USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution on Ratification of the Supplementary Protocol to the 12 August 1949 Geneva Conventions Concerning the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts (Protocol I), and the Supplementary Protocol to the 12 August 1949 Geneva Conventions Concerning the Protection of Victims of Noninternational Armed Conflicts (Protocol II)"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To ratify the Supplementary Protocol to the 12 August 1949 Geneva Conventions Concerning the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts (Protocol I), and the Supplementary Protocol to the 12 August 1949 Geneva Conventions Concerning the Protection of Victims of Noninternational Armed Conflicts (Protocol II), adopted at a diplomatic conference in Geneva 8 June 1977, signed on behalf of the USSR in Bern 12 December 1977, and submitted for ratification by the USSR Council of Ministers, declaring as follows:

"The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in conformity with Paragraph 2 of Article 90 of Protocol I, recognizes ipso facto and without any special agreement vis-a-vis any other High Contracting Party making the selfsame pledge the competence of the International Fact-Finding Commission."

2. The USSR Council of Ministers must prepare and submit to the USSR Supreme Soviet within 6 months proposals for the introduction of amendments to Soviet legislation reflecting the Soviet Union's commitment to the Supplementary Protocols mentioned in Paragraph 1.

3. The Union of USSR Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies Executive Committee and the USSR Ministry of Defense are instructed to take measures to publish the texts of the Supplementary Protocols and to disseminate knowledge of these documents among the civilian population and the USSR Armed Forces personnel.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet
Moscow, The Kremlin, 4 August 1989.

Interregional Deputies' Group Not 'Opposition'

18001458 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Aug 89 p 2

[L. Grafova and Ye. Domnysheva report: "'We Are Not an Opposition'"]

[Text]**"We Are Not An Opposition": This was stated by people's deputies arriving for the organizational meeting of the interregional deputies' group.**

The rapid course of life shows that what seized the soul yesterday becomes a matter of course today. Everyone remembers how on the third day of the Congress Deputy Popov unexpectedly proposed that an interregional group be set up in our parliament supporting the program of the Moscow delegation...

Since then there have been five preliminary meetings. Now, gathered in the Home of Cinema, 269 deputies (in all, a total of 398 people have joined the group) began the practical implementation of their program "To Deepen and Realize Perestroyka." This program has focused the proposals of the "radical minority" expressed at the congress.

"If the congress had moved along the path that we proposed there would have been no strikes, no excesses in Abkhaziya," stated the chairman at the meeting, G. Popov. True, Deputy A. Sobchak then called this into question.

The interregional group is proposing the tactic of "preferential policy." The people have grown tired of waiting for real changes, and these will not come until power at the local level has been turned over to the new soviets. In order to prevent a repetition of the exhausting and fierce passion of the struggle that was programed by the imperfections of the Law on Elections, it is essential to change the law itself, that is, introduce changes into the constitution. Only the congress is empowered to do this. And so, here we have the main document of the meeting—an appeal to all USSR people's deputies to convene an extraordinary session of the Congress of People's Deputies. It is proposed that it take place 18 through 20 September. The group has submitted its draft of the amendments to Section 13 of the USSR Constitution to the Supreme Soviet.

In 2 days of busy work (preceded by 2 months of preparation) many other documents were adopted, addressed to the Supreme Soviet. The second in importance was on the publication of a newspaper, NARODNYY DEPUTAT. However, one issue of this newspaper has already been published (the large-circulation SOVETSKIY FIZIK from the Kurchatov Institute offered its pages to the deputies).

A draft amendment was proposed to the Law on the State Enterprise, and it was stated that there is an urgent need to pass a law on land; an appeal to the USSR Council of Ministers on abolishing state reception was also adopted...

It is impossible in a short report even to list all the issues discussed. When this issue of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA comes out many of them that have been passed on to the tribune of the Supreme Soviet will already be known. Now, having just returned from the meeting, we are in a hurry to understand exactly what did happen. If 90 people from the Supreme Soviet were present at the meeting can we say that the interregional deputy group is in opposition to someone? The importance today of alternative draft decisions for the burning issues of the day was talked about at the meeting by the chairman of the Soviet of the Union Ye. Primakov. "But is it worth setting up a closed group?" This was the doubt he voiced when he proposed organizing a discussion club for deputies.

The word "opposition" hung over the meeting like a sword of Damocles, and the deputies tried to sweep aside this accusation. They called for getting rid of stereotypical views and the sense of fear, and they even quoted the lines of Akhmatova about "the hour of courage" (for some reason many tried to speak the verses, causing irony in the hall).... But today you can prove nothing just with words. Sincerity of incentive is quickly checked by actions. The future will show whether the interregional group will justify its right to exist. But today one thing is clear: The tense labor of the deputies incorporated in the alternative drafts (and this work started even before the congress) deserves a careful attitude. The so-called "radical" minority should be listened to attentively.

The more so since the meetings of the Supreme Soviet and indeed the events of life show that the boundary between opinions is very mobile. Less than a week remained to the end of the session and time was sometimes wasted on useless argument. But alas! So much of the parliament's golden time budget was wasted on debate that would not have occurred if only the deputies themselves had made serious preparations beforehand.

A collegial leadership was elected for the interregional group: five chairmen—Yu. Afanasyev, B. Yeltsin, V. Palm, G. Popov, A. Sakharov—and a coordinating council of 25 people.

Platform of Interregional Deputies Group Viewed

18001454 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 1 Aug 89 p 2

[Article by I. Lavrovskiy, L. Telen, and Ye. Chernova, SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA correspondents, Moscow: "Dissidence? No, A Dialogue!"]

[Text] **A meeting of the interregional deputies' group was held in Moscow's House of Cinema on 29-30 July. A bureau was elected, and B. Yeltsin, Yu. Afanasyev, A. Sakharov, V. Palm, and G. Popov became its co-chairmen. Some 269 people joined the group. Another 119 persons guaranteed their participation. It is time, probably, to dispel the myth about the elitism of the radical wing of the deputy body. Workers are a large part of the group (61 persons), and Muscovites and oblast residents constitute only 18 percent of its participants. And here is another fact: 92 percent of them are for an all-out acceleration of economic reform.**

For decades in our country, political labels were facilely substituted for political analysis. With their help, the detached Stalin-Brezhnev ideological mechanism tried to ensure a monopolistic authority over minds. We are especially rich in such traditions. The interregional group barely had the time to declare its establishment when we heard the usual: This is a dissident policy! A Second Supreme Soviet! An alternative structure of authority! And this, take note, is before the publication of the platform, and before a public statement of opinions and principles of work. It is difficult to search for a common language. But in the meantime, the discussion has already started.

What exactly did the interregional group propose to the parliament and the congress? How did it explain its birth and intentions? "Those who govern the state are judged not by their words, but by their deeds. The standard of living of the people is falling. How are we to clothe, provide shoes for, and feed the country? There are different roads for achieving these objectives. We need to take the shortest and most effective one.... In this situation the interregional group sets for itself the task of uniting all sensible forces for leading the country out of the crisis." This is the way the deputies preliminarily explained their intentions.

Deputy Ye. Primakov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union, agreed with the founders: Yes, the Supreme Soviet needs clearly formulated alternative projects, and, in general, new initiatives and proposals. But does some kind of a group have to be established for this? Perhaps it would be better to work more aggressively in committees?

The deputies answered that it is needed, the more so because by far not all of them can take advantage of the invitation to work in commissions and committees precisely because they themselves were not able to reach a decision at the congress on the question of the status of a deputy. And so what is the situation? The composition of a committee: Half are members of the Supreme Soviet, and half are "ordinary" deputies. A committee has the right to hold a meeting if half of its members are present. But an "ordinary" people's deputy, as S. Belozertsev said, has neither the money to get to these meetings, nor the right to leave his main job to go to them. So what happens is that only members of the Supreme Soviet itself can normally work in the committees of the Supreme Soviet.

Well, the first parliamentary group has been established. What is its political platform like? It almost does not differ from the platform of the 19th party conference and the congress: The soviets are given real authority, examination of the constitutional and legal status of the republics, oblasts, and okrugs, and national direct and equal elections for alternative candidates.

Among the most immediate tasks—submit for discussion by the Supreme Soviet for the 5 days that remain until adjournment of the first session the question on the status of a deputy (naturally, granting the broadest authority) and the question on convening a Congress of People's Deputies in September. Why so soon? The country must hold elections to local soviets as soon as possible. But this requires a review of the Law on Elections. Only the congress has a right to do this.

Now about the economic platform. Its main requirement is to accelerate economic reform, integrating the owner and the worker in the same person.

The authors of the platform are putting forth 10 principles. Among these are decentralization and economic independence of cities and republics, economic independence of the producer, emphasis on the consumer, demonopolization, cost accounting arrangements in unions and organizations, and public control over the governing apparatus. These principles really reflect the very essence of the necessary economic changes. We would like to add one more from—the protection of the property and income of citizens. This would provide a good foundation both for fighting rackets—private and state—and for supporting the people's living standard.

We cannot agree with all of the principles of the platform. "Objects of personal property are redistributed." But, you see, public property should be redistributed continually! And not just by decree, but during the economic process itself. One civil war is enough in our history to understand what redistribution of property "from below" means. It is enough to live through Stalin once to understand what redistribution of property "from above" means.

A number of other principles of the platform can be criticized, but this is not the main thing now. The more so that, in the words of G. Popov, work on the platform is continuing. The attempt at a counterinitiative on the part of the broad public is in itself a child of perestroyka and its sign.

Thus, the general directions have been outlined. The deputy members of the group immediately announced that they intend to undertake practical steps.

And the voters found one organizational form of help for the deputies of the interregional group. Recently a fund for deputy initiatives was established—a public charitable orgnization. The fund mobilizes the membership dues of its participants and receives voluntary offerings from citizens, organizations, and enterprises.

Every citizen can make his contribution on a public basis to the democratization of our society, to an intensification of economic reform, and to promoting the civic responsibility of the voters. In the opinion of the organizers of the fund, this is necessary at this stage of our development.

The current account number of the deputy initiatives fund is 2700096 in the Moscow Oblast office of the Zhilsotsbank [Bank for Housing and Municipal Services and Social Development].

As a result of a 2-day debate, the interregional group resolved to go into the session of the Supreme Soviet with a whole series of initiatives. Among them are amendments to the Law on State Enterprises and proposals about repealing certain normative acts and ukases.

Thus, the interregional group is ready to act, and not only to conduct discussions, as Ye. Primakov advised at the founder's meeting.

"If we recognize that there exist in society differing, and frequently conflicting, interests, positions, and views, then we cannot in any way avoid polemical clashes. Parliaments exist so that social conflicts are resolved under their roofs and not in the streets of Tbilisi, Fergana, and Novyy Uzen, and not in the mines of the Kuzbass, the Donbass, and Vorkuta," declared Deputy S. Stankevich.

We note that the members of the group, in general, displayed great receptivity to each other's opinions and an ability to reach agreement.

Donbass Strike Settlement Resolves 'Many Issues'
LD1308122589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 13 Aug 89

[Summary] Gennadiy Kondaurov reports from the Donbass following the strike settlement: "The strike speeded up the resolution of many issues. At a plenum of the town party committee in Makeyevka, First Secretary Vladimir Ivanovich Zhukov said that issues that had not been resolved for decades had been dealt with in just 10 days. There is already extra pay for night and evening shifts. Working time in the mine is now calculated from shaft to shaft, not the amount of time actually worked at the pit-face, as before. And sickness certificates now expire after the patient's full recovery. At many mines women have started to get paid leave to look after children up to 3 years, with the money coming from social development funds." Strike committees are handing over power to councils of workers' collectives. Elections to trade union committees are in preparation. A "number" of mine directors and other engineering and technical staff—in whom the miners have expressed no confidence—are being replaced "in a painful way, of course." Twenty-three mine directors in Donetsk Oblast have "either been removed from their jobs, or went of

their own accord." "Concern" is being expressed that the replacement of a large proportion of specialists "could lead to a deterioration of work." "The mines of Donetsk Oblast are so far failing to fulfill their daily targets. The country is failing to receive 60,000 tonnes of coal from Donetsk Oblast every day. This is equivalent to the idling of a large production association. The losses sustained during the strike are not yet being made up. Millions of rubles have failed to appear in mines' current accounts. Pay, social development and other funds have gone down." A Makeyevka miner who attended the city party committee [gorkom] plenum says that discipline is the key. At Zhdanovskaya mine, a group of miners discuss plans to improve matters by setting up an association of production collectives.

Activities of Kuzbass Workers' Committee Reported
LD0708222189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 7 Aug 89

[Report from Kemerovo by "roving correspondent" A. Konstantinov—identified by screen caption; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] This house-warming was not surrounded by pomp and red-ribbon cutting. Nevertheless, today this is all but the most important event in Kuzbass. The former oblast strike committee, now called the workers' committee, has legitimately moved into several rooms of the oblast executive committee. Next to the oblast committee, the oblast executive committee and the oblast trade union council, a new workers' body has been established. Here we should say that during the period since the strike, workers' committees have gained enormous standing in the area. In particular, labor collectives have expressed no confidence in 22 trade union committees. New elections are being held for their membership and failed trade union leaders are being replaced by true leaders from workers' committees, who are trusted.

In the town of Anzhero-Sudzhensk, one of the miners' demands was the replacement of the leaders of local trade. Now the former director of (?Prodors) has been dismissed and the new leader of the organization is (Viktor Nikolayevich Roshchenko), head of the cleaning sector at the Fizkulturnik mine administration.

The role of the workers' committees was manifested at an emergency plenum of the oblast trade union council. In particular, the decision contains the following highly unusual item: To hold that the trade union committee, which did not stand at the head of the strike, is not performing its duties and requirements in defending the rights and interests of the working people.

[Begin recording] [V.I. Romanov, chairman of Kemerovo oblast trade union council—identified by screen caption] Let us say honestly: In this strike we were following the events rather than leading them. The working class taught us a lesson we will not forget. The workers were the first to give open and honest battle to the distortions and ills of our society by upending, in deeds rather than words, its notorious pyramid. Let us be frank; the command system used to pronounce the slogan "Glory to the working class," but in reality it used to push the working class into secondary roles. They used to consult it, the working class, but then they would decide what they wanted. They used to speak about the workers' lack of economic knowledge, but they turned out to be more competent than some specialists. They used to discourse on the workers; political and civic apathy, while the latter came out into the square and displayed an example of organization, awareness, and ability to manage themselves and distinguish between demagoguery and common sense. [end recording]

Also here at the plenum, an instruction was adopted for the presidium of the oblast trade union committee to set up a working party and to prepare by 15 September alternative drafts for the USSR Law on Trade Union Rights and the USSR Law on Strikes. Considering that the men of Kuzbass have the most experience in this field, I think our legislation can only benefit from this kind of initiative. [video shows plenum in session, Romanov at lectern]

For the workers' committees, this is a very important and constructive period; the true, rather than sham creativity of the masses in in progress.

Ryzhkov, Others Meet Miner Representatives 1 Aug
PM0208125589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Aug 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "N.I. Ryzhkov's Meeting With Miners"]

[Text] A meeting took place 1 August in the Kremlin between N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and representatives of the strike committee of mines of Dzerzhinsk City, Donetsk Oblast, and the local organs of management.

The speeches of the miners and other participants in the meeting raised acute production and social questions. It was noted that in the central Donbass, where steeply inclined thin seams worked to great depths predominate at many mines, particular importance attaches to mining equipment specially adapted for these conditions. Yet the scientific research institutes, design bureaus, and machine building enterprises, failing to properly consider the miners' interests, are refusing to produce equipment which has given a good account of itself. And what they do offer often does not suit the miners in terms of reliability and productivity. Often new equipment proves even less effective than the old. The contribution of development engineers and machine builders to the creation of systems and equipment ensuring acceptable working conditions at great depths is an inadequate one.

The situation is aggravated by major shortcomings in the labor regime and the organization and remuneration of labor and in the socioconsumer living conditions of

miners, including mining foremen and other engineering and technical workers. The housing problem, for whose solution it is primarily necessary to create the appropriate construction base, has become particularly acute. The local party, soviet, and trade union organs, whose work style must be altered fundamentally, should have played a marked role in resolving all these questions.

On the same day one more meeting took place—with representatives of the strike committees of the miners of a number of the country's coal basin. During the exchange of opinions during both meetings constructive proposals were made on a number of issues. N.I. Ryzhkov informed the miners that intensive preparation is now under way for a government resolution on questions of the production and social development of the coal industry and suggested that the representatives of all the country's coal mining associations take an active part in this work.

Taking part in the meetings were L.A. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; L.D. Ryabev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; M.I. Shchadov, USSR minister of the coal industry; and People's Deputies Yu.Ye. Burykh, Yu.A. Donchenko, V.V. Zverev, and V.G. Kucherenko.

Coal Miner Situation in Cherkasskaya Described

LD3107175189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] [Announcer] Our Voroshilovgrad correspondent (Valeriy Merzhinskiy), reported this morning that the Cherkasskaya pit of the Voroshilovgrad coal production association had been the last to halt the strike. Thus, an understanding on settlement of the labor conflict was reached. However, it now makes sense to look back. What are the consequences of the strike? I will ask (Valeriy Merzhinskiy), who is now coming on the line.

[(Merzhinskiy)] The thing to be considered most important is the sharp fall in labor productivity. Half of the mines were at a standstill on peak strike days, and at those where work did not cease, productivity fell by half. Hence, losses of more than 1 million tonnes of coal. The losses are considerable in mine management, too. Almost 70 coal faces have become nonoperational, and 20 of these are blocked. This means that it will take 2 weeks for repair work to be done. The fall in productivity, coupled with the drifts being out of action, has caused damage assessed, according to preliminary calculations, at around R40 million. Moreover, because the oblast's miners have not reached planned figures, this figure is rising. Additional expenditure on repair work also should be taken into account.

[Announcer] (Valeriy), give us a few more details, please, on the situation in Stakhanov. Things were most tense there.

[(Merzhinskiy)] Demands were put forward here which were not merely economic, but also political. The strike committee expressed a lack of confidence on behalf of the miners in Stakhanov town party committee and in the executive committee of the town soviet of people's deputies. In connection with this, (Dym), first secretary of the town party committee, and (Kolesnik), chairman of the town executive committee, resigned. There was an extraordinary plenum of the town party committee and an extraordinary session of the town executive committee, at which new leaders were elected to the town party organization and to the local soviet. Party meetings at which the matter of convening an extraordinary report-back and election conference of the town party organization is being discussed are now being held in the pits, and in the works and institutions of Stakhanov.

[Announcer] The strike is over; the discussion goes on.

Voronin, Shalayev Talk to Voroshilovgrad Miners

PM2707161589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jul 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Meeting With Miners' Representatives"]

[Text] L.A. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and S.A. Shalayev, chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU], met representatives of Voroshilovgrad Oblast miners' collectives 26 July to examine questions which are the object of a collective labor conflict at the oblast's mines.

Strike committee members were briefed on the work being done in the USSR Council of Ministers to prepare government decisions on the basis of protocols signed locally by strike committees and USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU commissions. It is well known that they provide solutions to topical problems of a socioeconomic, production, and organizational-management nature in the interests of normalizing miners' working and living conditions and boosting the efficiency of this base sector of industry.

Mutually acceptable solutions, making it possible to end the labor conflict in the oblast's mines, were elaborated as a result of a detailed and principled exchange of opinions.

Taking part in the meeting were A.G. Korkin, USSR first deputy minister of the coal industry, and USSR People's Deputies N.K. Kozyrev and A.L. Tsarevskiy.

Commission Studies Pace of Perestroyka in Kuzbass

PM2507114789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report under the general heading "Miners Have Begun Work": "Kemerovo"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The government commission headed by N.N. Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, is continuing to work strenuously in Kemerovo Oblast, as on

all the previous days. Today it ends its direct meetings with leaders, the aktiv, and labor collectives in cities and at enterprises in the oblast where a host of problems have accumulated due to the slow progress of the economic reform and the neglect of the social sphere. The joint discussion and consideration of the prevailing situation is making it possible to elaborate locally real and effective measures to eliminate the difficulties which are emerging on the path of perestroyka.

Amendments to Law on State Enterprise Cited

PM1108112289 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Aug 89 Second Edition pp 1-2

["USSR Law on Amendments and Additions to the USSR Law 'On the State Enterprise (Association)'"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

I. To make the following amendments and additions to the USSR Law "On the State Enterprise (Association)":

1. The following paragraphs are to be added to Article 2, Point 3:

"In order to increase the interest of the labor collective in the results of its activity, the enterprise makes wide use of new progressive methods of socialist economic management, in particular the collective contract, lease relations, and cooperative forms.

"As an autonomous commodity producer, the enterprise may enter the securities market, issue shares in order to mobilize additional financial resources, and realize special-purpose loans."

2. In Article 3:

In the second paragraph of Point 1, the words "with the permission of the higher organ" are to be deleted;

The following paragraph is to be added to Point 1, after the fourth paragraph:

"Enterprises have the right autonomously to use other forms of economic accountability, as well as lease relations, stipulated in USSR legislative acts and USSR Government decisions."

3. In Article 5:

The following paragraph is to be added to Point 4:

"The structure of the enterprise and its subunits is defined by the enterprise autonomously";

The following words are to be added to the first paragraph of Point 5:

"Its structure is established by the association";

Points 6 and 7 are to read as follows:

"6. An association may include, along with structural units, autonomous enterprises that enjoy rights in accordance with the present law. The association leads such enterprises by exercising the functions of a higher organ with regard to them, and has the right to centralize wholly or in part the fulfillment of their individual production and economic functions. The enterprises' resources necessary for the fulfillment of the said functions may be centralized, with their consent.

"Management of the association, by a decision of the structural units and enterprises belonging to it, is exercised by the administration of the leading structural unit (leading enterprise) of the association or by a separate management apparatus.

"7. Enterprises, associations, and organizations, irrespective of their departmental affiliation, may autonomously set up on a contractual basis concerns, consortiums, intersector state associations, state production associations, various amalgamations [assotsiatsii], and other large-scale organizational structures, including those involving the participation of cooperatives and joint enterprises formed with foreign states' firms. The state enterprises (associations) belonging to these organizational structures retain their economic autonomy and operate in accordance with the present law.

"The structural units and autonomous enterprises belonging to the association have the right, by a decision of their labor collectives, to withdraw from the association in compliance with contractual procedure and the commitments stipulated on the formation of the association.

"Enterprises, associations, and organizations, on the transition to lease relations, have the right to withdraw from subordination to sector and territorial organs of state management, and in that event the relationship between them is governed by the lease contract."

4. In Article 6:

The following paragraph is to be added to Point 5:

"Autonomously sets additional social benefits for its workers within the limits of the funds earned."

5. The words "and USSR ministry (department)" and "USSR ministries and departments" are to be deleted from the third paragraph of Article 9, Point 1.

6. The following words are to be added to the fourth paragraph of Article 10, Point 3: "The state order for production and technical output must not be set at 100 percent. Disagreements arising between enterprises (associations) and higher organs on the procedure for placing the state order are examined by state arbitration organs."

7. The first paragraph of Article 14, Point 4 is to read as follows:

"4. The enterprise forms a wage fund and material incentive fund (labor remuneration fund) depending on the end results of work. A reasonable correlation between the share of funds from the collective's economic accountability income channeled into reproduction and the share of funds for labor remuneration is regulated by the taxation system."

8. Article 19, Point 4, is to read as follows:

"4. An enterprise has the right autonomously to carry out export and import operations in accordance with established procedure (including operations in the markets of capitalist and developing countries), where necessary creating economically accountable foreign trade firms or entrusting such operations to other foreign trade organizations on a contractual basis."

9. The following words are to be added to the third paragraph of Article 21, Point 1: "including in the form of joint-stock companies and limited liability companies."

10. The following paragraph is to be added to Article 23, Point 1:

"In the course of resolution of the question of the transfer of the property of the enterprise as a whole on lease to an organization of lease operators or a cooperative.

"Associations are formed on voluntary principles by enterprises on their initiative or on the initiative of the higher organ.

"The reorganization of associations and the cessation of their activity take place by a decision of the structural units and enterprises belonging to them."

II. The USSR Council of Ministers is instructed to ensure that USSR Government decisions and also normative acts of USSR ministries, state committees, and departments are brought into line with the present Law by 1 October 1989. [Signed] M. Gorbachev, Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Moscow, Kremlin. 3 August 1989.

Nakhichevan Trains Protected Following Attacks

PM1108153989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent A. Dzhalilov report: "Blockage in the Southern Section"]

[Text] Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic—As has already been reported, at the end of July and the beginning of August, train traffic ceased on the Baku-Nakhichevan-Yerevan route, which resulted not only in the railroad's total inactivity between Baku and Yerevan, but also in blockages on other railroads in the southern section. On the North Caucasus Railroad alone more than 100 trains carrying urgent freight were held up, including freight destined for the earthquake-hit rayons of Armenia.

The stoppage resulted from events that took place on the 46-km section of the Azerbaijan Railroad between Karchivan and Megri, which passes through the territory of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic. Trains and train teams were attacked in that section, resulting in the engineers of Dzhulfa Locomotive Depot refusing to drive trains.

Railroad traffic resumed 2 August after a 1-week stoppage.

I asked Major General V. Zelenskiy, deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Main Administration of Internal Affairs for Transport, to comment on the situation that has developed.

"Our main administration and the transport militia administrations of both republics are now jointly taking active measures to stabilize the situation," he said. "In particular, internal affairs subunits will ensure the safe movement of trains and also of passengers and train teams and the safety of freight. Special zones have been created to ensure the maintenance of public order and a response to changes in the operational situation. As regards to punishing persons guilty of attacking trains, destroying tracks, and the like, an operational investigative group has been set up to deal with them. No one will escape punishment."

Commentary Calls for Resolution of Ethnic Problems

PM1308132989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Pavel Gutiontov commentary under the rubric "Publicist's Notes": "Home Under One Roof"]

[Text] When I was working on an assignment for IZVESTIYA in Nagorno-Karabakh 18 months ago, only two lines were "cut" from my first report dictated to the editorial office: references to an armored personnel carrier standing beneath the windows of a hotel in Stepanakert and to the truncheons tucked in the belts of the militiamen on patrol. You can understand the people who removed these lines. It was outrageous to write them, let alone read them. However, at that time the armored personnel carriers were only STANDING, the militia men from Ryazan carrying truncheons smiled at the local inhabitants, and the latter offered them milk, bread, and cheese....

But then came Sumgait, and, on the same assignment, I recorded in my notebook the confused, lachrymose stories of people who endured the hell of those 3 days in February and were removed from their native city in

armored personnel carriers. I also wrote the word "refugees" for the first time in my life, while along the mountain roads of the Transcaucasus tens of thousands of people came in waves in opposite directions, their paths meeting halfway, having left their homes and being guilty of no crime.

Then, in March 1988, all this was unprecedented, and the extraordinary "events surrounding Nagorno-Karabakh" were regarded as precisely that—extraordinary. We just could not believe that SUCH A THING could happen in OUR country, and some colleagues were already beginning to speculate about "hands from abroad"....

But now....

People have been shot in Abkhaziya and Georgia.... In Estonia the electoral law stipulates "residential qualification," which has resulted in strikes, the participants in which have begun to be threatened with unconstitutional sanctions.... We have lived through the shock of Fergana, with Meskhetian Turks forced to move to Orel and Smolensk.... And entire regions are demanding "that Moscow" impose a curfew in their territory....

Are we really going to get used to all this—living with "curfews," feeling a hostile mistrust of our neighbors, and feeling afraid for our children when we allow them to play on the street?!

Yes, the present explosion of ethnic and interethnic feeling is the product both of Stalin's trampling upon the rights of entire nations and of the years of stagnation, when, behind the pompous words of "indissoluble friendship and fraternity," peoples' sense of national dignity—Armenians, Lithuanians, and Russians—was encroached on in an offhand manner. When historical monuments of the Slavic, Georgian, and Uzbek civilizations were destroyed, the teaching of native languages in schools curtailed, and omnipotent departments erected their enterprises, like fortresses in a captured land, in protected tundra land or the Chernozem region of the Ukraine. How much energy we will have to expend in order to clear away these obstacles, and how carefully and sensitively we will have to do this.

Human beings are behind these obstacles and so they cannot be removed either with bulldozers or with tanks.

But we also cannot fail to see that, all too often, the really tense situation in many regions is brought to the boiling point deliberately, with trivial issues exaggerated. Attempts are made to present a drunken brawl between a local inhabitant and a tourist from another region as an interethnic conflict of global proportions. A small boy throws a stone—and adults call for a demonstration. Local authorities increasingly try to blame their own unpopular decisions "on Moscow".... The monstrous, insulting article by an Estonian professor on "Great Russian nationalism," published in a Swedish newspaper (it is very important that it has been so strongly condemned by the Estonian Supreme Soviet and USSR people's deputies from the republic) is of this ilk, as are the debates on "Russophobia" with their obvious great-power slant that have been carried in some of our publications....

All this also inspires suspicion of our neighbor, making us look at him through narrowed eyes, constantly expecting some dirty trick. But it seems obvious that only together will we be able to restore the rights of every individual—not at the expense of some specific person, but with EVERYONE picking up the tab. The bitter example of that same Karabakh continues to prove this simple truth to all of us, but the more time is spent on proving it, the higher expense borne by eveyone.

The country must take fundamental, responsible decisions on the problems of interethnic relations, problems which have been neglected and are potentially explosive; what is more, important steps have already been taken—by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet; the Central Committee plenum dedicated to the whole range of these questions lies ahead. I repeat in this connection: All knots, whatever they are, must be unraveled rather than hacked at—in the full sense of this word—where it hurts. Our home has just one roof and, for that reason, we must not undermine the walls, even if it is obvious that so far they have not been built as well as they might be.

Party Deems Interethnic 'Harmonization' Priority

PM1108135689 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Aug 89 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Consolidation—a Condition of Perestroyka: On Interethnic Relations and the Party Member's Position"]

[Text] "Recently I have been unable to read the newspapers without tears and trembling, because they report all kinds of interethnic clashes. Nagorno-Karabakh, Fergana, Abkhaziya.... And casualties everywhere. Formerly, we used to learn from the press about events like these taking place abroad. We were grieved, perplexed, but it was somehwere else, not in our country, it was a long way away. But now—our people are dying, someone's sons, daughters, brothers, fathers, and so absurdly, pointlessly. Are Chernobyl, Ufa, and many, many more disasters not enough for us?.. What is stopping us from living in peace?..."

This letter, which is emotional and full of concern for the fate of our multinational home, is from teacher Lyudmila Timofeyevna Sulimenko, from the Ukrainian village of Novobogdanovka (Nikolayev Oblast), and it is by no means the only one in PRAVDA's mail. And it is easy to understand why. All of us are worried about the

friction and conflicts on interethnic grounds. Our hearts are pierced by the physical and moral sufferings of those who have fallen victim to these sad circumstances.

Life shows that questions of nationalities had not in fact been resolved "finally and irreversibly." We spent more time reassuring ourselves with the results achieved and developing in the mass consciousness the idea of problem-free national relations, than tackling the problems. The departure from Leninist principles of nationalities policy, violations of the rule of law in the period of the personality cult, the ideolo , and mentality of stagnation—all this made nati al problems explosive in a number of regions of the country.

Now our society, having embarked on radical reforms, is critically reinterpreting its past. The 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference resolutely set a course of normalizing national relations and ridding them of everything that is contrary to our morality and ideology and the humane principles of socialism. The work of the first Congress of People's Deputies and the new USSR Supreme Soviet showed convincingly: However complex interethnic problems may be, an optimum solution to them is possible. The formation of Soviet of Nationalities commissions on Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and on the problems of the Meskhetian Turks, Crimean Tatars, and Soviet Germans, the "go-ahead" for the Baltic republics for economic autonomy, and other acts of the Supreme Soviet in this sphere are the first practical steps along the path of renewal of interethnic relations.

The task is to accumulate everything that promotes true harmony of interests among nations and ethnic groups on the basis of the principles of socialist internationalism, everything that promotes the strengthening and further development of our multinational union state. To this end we are stimulating bold scientific endeavor, free from the dogmatism and deformations of the past, and efforts by specialists to prepare a series of draft laws in connection with the legal regulation of interethnic relations. The Politburo recently examined a draft CPSU platform on nationalities policy in present conditions. This is a very important stage in the preparations for the CPSU Central Committee plenum on improving interethnic relations in the country. Union republic communist party central committees and kray, oblast, and okrug party committees, to which a draft of this document has been sent, must not merely evaluate it, but analyze it comprehensively in the context of perestroyka. The document will be published in the press in the next few days.

The party repeatedly draws attention to the fact that all nationalities problems require a considered, comprehensive approach. Let us remember how tactful and cautious Lenin was on these matters. Even today they cannot be resolved in any other way than on the basis of profound analysis and objective assessments of each specific situation, respect for every people's national feelings, and the utmost responsibility in examining even the most trivial issues. And they must be resolved calmly, within the framework of socialist democracy and the rule of law. Here it is very important, as was stressed at the USSR Supreme Soviet session, to show restraint and patience. To move toward cooperation and reconciliation, to clear up the problems. There is no other way, any other approach leads to an impasse, to human tragedies.

It may be said without exaggeration: The nationalities question is the most serious test of the maturity of party organizations, Communists of all nationalities, and all Soviet citizens. Unfortunately, some people have become confused by the contradictory nature of reality. And instead of taking vigorous action and clearing up the acute questions that complicate the situation, especially in the social sphere, the development of national culture and language, and the resolution of ecological problems, they have let matters take care of themselves and allowed spontaneous forces to have their head. It is not possible everywhere to sense any resistance to extremist sentiments and the attempts of all kinds of nationalist careerists to drive natural national sentiments in a destructive direction and exploit the expansion of democracy and glasnost for antisocialist purposes. Letters from citizens of various nationalities from the so-called hot regions indicate that insufficient resolve in upholding Communists' principled positions delays true perestroyka processes and damages the common cause of renewing life.

There is no need to demonstrate how important it is to conduct ideological and educational work first and foremost in the labor collectives and among young people, to be extremely principled in assessing current events, to take a long-term view, and to highlight everything good and fine that we have accumulated in this field in more than 7 decades of Soviet power. The complexity of interethnic relations makes increased demands on the activity of the mass media and Communists working in the media.

Perestroyka has brought to light many negative phenomena in interethnic relations, which had accumulated over the decades. At the same time the conditions are being created for overcoming them democratically. The party regards the harmonization of interethnic relations on a new basis as one of the most important objectives of nationalities policy. It is the duty and sacred obligation of every Communist to work for this.

Colonel Interviewed on 'Nationalities Discord'

18001462 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 29 Jul 89 p 2

[Interview with Militia Colonel V. Dyachenkov, Central Criminal Investigation Administration, USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, by special correspondent V. Shcherban: "Who Was Shooting?"; date and place of interview not given; first two paragraphs are an introduction]

[Text] **The chronicle of recent days is full of alarming reports. Fergana and Abkhazia have been overwhelmed by events entangled with nationalities discord, and blood**

flowed there. Every day we learn the facts of exchanges of gunfire, of storming rayon militia departments, of bullet wound victims. For years we believed that the population was shot at someplace else, but not here. However, as soon as a conflict begins, a crowd of insurgents is there, literally bristling with firearms... The center had already begun to smell of gunpowder. Today brigandage, robbery of a savings bank, and attacks on collectors are not done without shooting. In the arsenals of bands of racketeers and criminal groups are pistols, automatic weapons, "ballistic" knives, paralyzing nerve gases, explosive devices, and handgrenades... But where is it all coming from if "Kalashnikovs" are not sold in stores and the army supply depots are reliably guarded and we do not now or ever have had any "deadly" contraband.

Our correspondent met with V. Dyachenkov, senior commissioner in charge of particularly important cases of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Central Criminal Investigation Administration.

[Shcherban] People are alarmed by the fact that the criminal world is arming itself. That means that the danger of anyone becoming a hostage in the air or on the ground is also growing. Nor is anyone horrified anymore if a robber takes aim at someone. How do automatic weapons and pistols get into the hands of violent people?

[Dyachenkov] Indeed, the problem has never before been so acute. About 700 thefts of weapons, ammunition, and explosive materials take place in the country annually. But these indicators shot upwards this year. A tendency has been noted: Criminals are trying to seize a great quantity of weapons. This is especially apparent on the "southern front." There's no getting away from the reports of brigand attacks on militia men, on militia departments. In western Georgia, for example, in one 24-hour period, eight rayon militia departments were assaulted, all VOKhR's [militarized guards] and two hunting stores, and 1,441 firearms were taken. The portion of weapons seized as a result of carelessness or direct treachery on the part of militia workers was 56 automatic weapons, 40 pistols, and 3 hand-held machine guns.

We retreive the majority of the stolen weapons, 80-85 percent. And in total in a year, 2,000-3,000 pieces of firearms are confiscated with 30-40 percent of those turned in voluntarily. In February we carried out an operation called "Arsenal." The result was the confiscation of almost 5,000 firearms! But at the same time, people are in no hurry to part with weapons in areas where there is unrest. Unfortunately only a small portion was returned. For example, on 27 July in Georgia, about 5,000 firearms, over 80 automatic weapons and pistols, 2 machine guns, and 800 kg of explosive materials were confiscated.

[Shcherban] But even in republics where no one is shooting for the time being, it turns out that there are plenty of weapons. In those places, where are they coming from?

[Dyachenkov] A portion is "excavated" from battlefields and restored by "collectors." From one resident of Lithuania, who is under suspicion of murder, 14 rifles were confiscated—war "trophies."

Now about the weapons stolen from general education schools. Over the past 5 years, 387 thefts have occurred there. A total of 648 firearms were stolen. And there is no guarantee that these "gun rooms" in schools will not supply the criminal world with weapons. Why? The technical condition of the rooms where they are stored is deplorable. There is a lack of alarm systems. Rural schools account for 70 percent(!) of all stolen weapons in the country's schools. Facts?

On the evening of 24 February in the village of Tulgovichi, Khoynikskiy Rayon, Gomel Oblast, unidentified criminals broke the entry door to the arsenal room, opened the metal chest, and stole three small-caliber rifles, 1,200 cartridges for them, and three automatic weapons used for training purposes. The school is guarded by a watchman from a departmental guard who was sleeping and not in a sober condition. We determined to propose to the USSR Defense Ministry an experiment of substituting air rifles for the small-caliber weapons. But the military's verdict was categorical: no, no, and no. And in the meantime the weapons are disappearing.

Thus, on 3 May, in the village of Schastlivoye, Borispolskiy Rayon, Kiev Oblast, an unidentified criminal cut the alarm wire, broke the door bolts, penetrated the arsenal room of the high school, and stole four small-caliber rifles, an automatic training weapon, and escaped....

The state of affairs in the subdivisions of the militarized guard is no better. About a quarter of all weapons thefts take place there. Today over 400 "VOKhR" firearms are being sought. The "Nagant" system revolver is a tasty piece for criminals. What is important is that the revolver does not eject its shells, and that means fewer "pieces of evidence." You ask, how can one take a pistol from armed guards? Elderly people are in the overwhelming majority of the marksmen of the VOKhR. At times, they are in no condition to offer serious resistance to attackers. Judge for yourself. Recently two criminals in Irkutsk penetrated the building of the radio broadcast committee, tied up the armed guard, who was born in 1910, and took from him his "TT" [Tulskiy-Tokarev] pistol. Then they noticed one more "TT" with 16 cartridges in the guard room. And then they escaped with all of this. And what about the armed guard? He died of acute cardiac insufficiency. There are cases when the "VOKhR" men have drunk away "Nagants" and "TT's," and sold carbines....

The DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy] "contribution" to the country's overall picture of thefts is 12 percent. The danger of the DOSAAF weapons is that they are not

"demilitarized" as are the school weapons, but are combat ready. And here is the tendency toward capturing large batches of firearms. What about the incident which took place in Taganrog, Rostov Oblast, just over a month ago? There, at the "Torpedo" stadium, unidentified criminals broke the metal grille of the ventilation window with a jack, took apart a brick wall, and penetrated the area of the DOSAAF combine shooting range. They took with them 3 small caliber rifles, 1 training automatic weapon, 26 pistols, 2 bolt assemblies, and 10,000 cartridges for them. This crime has not yet been solved.

Thefts of weapons from military units comprise a special chapter. I cannot quote you exact figures on the Army's "losses" at this time. All the data are heavily sealed at the Ministry of Defense. But it may be said with certainty that the Army is one of the main sources of the weapons drain. We have recently begun to collaborate more actively with the military in matters of investigation. Last year, we collated data on stolen weapons with data from General Headquarters. The incidents there, of course, are scandalous.

Here is one. "On the night of 3 February on the territory of a military unit located in Altayskiy Kray, unidentified individuals broke down a door, penetrated a supply depot, and stole 7 Makarov pistols, 32 magazines for them, and 500 cartridges. The site had been guarded by a sentry, who was absent at the time the theft was committed."

[Shcherban] Excuse me, but it is impossible to calmly hear about all these "unidentified" criminals. So, if the thief is not found, then the firearm he stole will not be found either. That means that we can be correct in assuming that these automatic weapons and pistols can already be used in robberies, terrorizing people.... What do the statistics on crime with the use of firearms indicate?

[Dyachenkov] Last year there was a 22 percent increase in such crimes in comparison to 1987. Given the explosive situation, there is no way this growth will decline.

[Shcherban] Is it a coincidence that in several southern regions, hunting stores, shooting ranges, and school "gun rooms" were raided exactly during the period of the insurrections?

[Dyachenkov] Without a doubt, it is no coincidence. It is direct evidence of the criminals' attempts to arm themselves at any cost. We ran into a similar situation last year both in Nagorno-Karabakh, Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, and in the republic itself. Broad-scale weapons thefts took place at the moment of the disturbances.

[Shcherban] As we know, today bands of racketeers are also arming themselves....

[Dyachenkov] On the one hand, racketeers use weapons most often for pressuring, threatening, and blackmailing cooperatives. On the other hand, they let loose while "settling scores" among hostile criminal groups. Kaflanov and Daudov, ringleaders of enemy groups, were detained in Makhachkala. Twelve domestic and foreign firearms were confiscated from them. There have been more than a few skirmishes in Moscow restaurants. This bespeaks the high degree to which the criminal groups are armed. But in turn, the owners of cooperative bars, repair shops, and haberdasheries acquire pistols for defending themselves....

[Shcherban] It is no secret that "gun markets" exist in various regions of the country where they say you can even buy a bazooka. What are the prices of "black market" firearms like?

[Dyachenkov] In addition to the cities of Central Asia and the Caucasus, we have data on the buying and selling of firearms in Odessa, Rostov, Riga, Latvia, Lithuania.... Pistols are bought in Moscow, too. The cost of a weapon is determined by a number of factors, let's say, if it has ammunition with it. Recently R1,000 was offered on one region's "market." For pistols and revolvers, from R200 to R400.

[Shcherban] The rapidity with which bandits arm themselves on the eve of attacks makes one think that there is some sort of underground syndicate which determines the content of the criminal world's arsenals.

[Dyachenkov] It is entirely possible that someone in the criminal world is trying to organize this process and channel weapons to be used against the militia, soldiers, and against the population in order to frighten and destabilize the situation on the scene. We have such information.

[Shcherban] Have you mentioned all the channels through which the drain of combat weapons is taking place?

[Dyachenkov] There is also contraband. Through selective searches in airports alone, 250 firearms and 411 kg of explosive materials have been confiscated. Cases are known where individual components have been carried out of weapons factories in order to assemble ready-made items later. There was one such incident in Leningrad last year.

In villages of Nagorno-Karabakh, local residents prepared grenades for the purpose of self-defense. But, understandably, this cannot justify them.

[Shcherban] You are condemning.... But people think about bandits being capable of arming entire regiments with no problem, and they ask themselves, how can I

defend myself and my children against the onslaught of shooting gangs? Many are demanding that they be given firearms if the militia is in no condition to defend citizens.

[Dyachenkov] This is a very dangerous route. For the population, accumulating weapons can lead to no good and does not provide security. After all, they say that even an unloaded rifle discharges once a year. Tension will not be reduced, and it will only create an explosive atmosphere. We must therefore strive to normalize the situation, and to spare no energy in explanatory work.

[Shcherban] But perhaps there is sense in imposing harsher punishment for keeping weapons?

[Dyachenkov] We will suggest to the legislative organs that changes in criminal legislation be introduced. The essence of the changes is harsher punishment for keeping weapons illegally, acquiring and bearing firearms, as well as for stealing them. It is envisioned that the responsibility for using weapons during mass disturbances will be increased....

[Shcherban] One cannot fail to be disturbed by everything that you have said. Is there any guarantee that the country's situation with weapons "in circulation" will get out of control?

[Dyachenkov] Of course, the militia is in no condition to resolve this problem on its own. We expect considerable assistance from party, soviet, and public organizations, from the ministry and department leaders whose competence includes the "arsenal" points. Today our people are working day and night in places where the stench of gunpowder hangs in the air.

And believe me, they are earning their pay. Every day, dozens, even hundreds of firearms are returned....

Gorbachev Sends Message to Kirishi Soviet

LD1208130389

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0800 GMT on 12 August broadcasts a 5-minute report on the ecological situation caused by a biochemical plant in Kirishi, Leningrad Oblast. The report states that the inhabitants of the town of Kirishi have for a long time been raising the issue of the poor ecological situation connected with the work of the biochemical plant. Many commissions and meetings of experts were held; some declared that there was no cause for concern, while others said the opposite. Recently a session of the town soviet decided to halt production at the plant from 1 August. However, the enterprise's work collective council, its management, and its party and social organizations did not agree with the decision. They informed the government and the Supreme Soviet of their disagreement with the town soviet's decision. During the work of the Supreme Soviet session, a commission which included USSR people's deputies visited Kirishi.

Matvey Frolov reports that the dispute between the town soviet and the enterprise has gone on and that the plant is continuing to operate. Frolov quotes telegrams to the local soviets from Gorbachev and Gusev:

"I have just received the latest edition of the town's newspaper KIRISHSKY FAKEL. It published a telegram to the town soviet and to Leningrad Oblast soviet of people's deputies from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Here is its text: 'The USSR Supreme Soviet has received a number of appeals regarding the production and use of protein vitamin concentrates obtained from petroleum paraffins. I have given instructions that a commission be set up involving highly competent experts to analyze this problem in detail and to submit proposals before 1 October 1989. I ask you, until it is discussed in the USSR Supreme Soviet, to be guided by the decisions that have been adopted on this matter by the USSR Council of Ministers'. That is the telegram that Comrade Gorbachev sent."

"There is also a telegram to the same two bodies from Comrade Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. I will also read out particular provisions from this telegram. 'On the instructions of the USSR Government and the bureau of the USSR Council of Ministers for the chemicals and timber complex, first be guided with regard to the operation of the plant producing protein vitamin concentrates by the proposals submitted by the USSR Government at the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Taking into consideration the opinion of the public and the deputies of the town soviet in the town of Kirishi, the bureau of the USSR Council of Ministers on the chemical and timber complex has obliged the USSR Ministry of the Medical Industry to submit by 1 October, 1989 options for the reprofiling of the production of protein vitamin concentrates at the Kirishi works and to publicly discuss this issue; by 1 January, 1990 to draw up the technical planning documents for the reprofiling and to meet requests for the necessary equipment and materials; and in 1991 to get down to the work of reprofiling this enterprise.' That then was the telegram."

"This is how this complex matter is being tackled. Although in the town of Kirishi itself, debates and the clash of opinions are continuing, it is very important for all this to take place calmly in the interests of both the town's inhabitants and production. Any problem can be solved by collectively conferring."

Matvey Frolov's report is followed by an update by the announced, who says: "We have been informed from Leningrad that a meeting took place in Kirishi which approved and confirmed the decision of the session of the town soviet and the rayon nature conservancy committee on halting the production of protein vitamin concentrates at the biochemical plant. This decision was also supported by the public council of representatives of the work collective councils of the town's enterprises and

organizations. Zemlyanoy, chairman of the executive committee of Kirishi town soviet, announced at the meeting that the plant would be halted on 22 August."

Commentator Calls Yeltsin 'Mediocre Politician'

PM1108141889 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 9 Aug 89 p 4

[Report on interview with Soviet television commentator Valentin Zorin by Johnny Flodman: "Soviet Television Man Hits Back: Yeltsin A Mediocrity"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] "Boris Yeltsin is not serious. He is a mediocre politician, a populist who engages only in criticism without putting forward any alternative solutions to our economic problems."

The words come from Valentin Zorin, one of the Soviet Union's best known television commentators and also vice president of the Soviet Peace Committee and a professor at the United States and Canada Institute in Moscow.

He is visiting Stockholm at present, and it was during a visit to SVENSKA DAGBLADET that Zorin veritably exploded when the talk turned to Yeltsin's article in DAGENS NYHETER 8 August. In the article Yeltsin used strong words in his criticism of Mikhail Gorbachev and wrote that Gorbachev has not succeeded in formulating any clear radical program to extricate the country from the economic and financial crisis. Yeltsin described Gorbachev's social program as "vague."

"Yeltsin's intellectual level is fairly mediocre," said Zorin, who even thinks that Yeltsin does not have the ability to write this sort of debate article. "My personal view is that he has made use of speech writers," said Zorin, who also used the words "stupid" and "brutal" when describing Yeltsin.

Valentin Zorin said that he has known Boris Yeltsin well from the time Yeltsin was party leader in Sverdlovsk to the time he was removed from his post of party chief in Moscow and kicked out of the Politburo.

"He persecuted people he did not like and it is now known that some of his aides in Moscow committed suicide."

Zorin has been commenting on foreign policy on Soviet television ever since 1948. This means that he has survived the Stalin years, Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Andropov, and Chernenko and has now quickly jumped on the Gorbachev bandwagon.

But, true to habit, he was cautious and admitted that at present the Soviet leader has major worries and that the people are waiting impatiently for the food situation to improve.

"We need 2-3 years to clear up the situation," he said.

However, he gave all his support to Gorbachev in the context of the criticism by Boris Yeltsin, recently elected to the Supreme Soviet, where he leads the opposition group calling for more rapid reform.

"Yeltsin has no alternatives to put forward when he criticizes Gorbachev's perestroyka. He cannot be taken seriously."

Who, then, are the people who support Yeltsin? "Groups who use his name for their own ends," replied Zorin, who seemed to suspect these groups of being behind Tuesday's DAGENS NYHETER article.

"In any case the article is dishonest," added Zorin, whose real mission in Stockholm is to spread knowledge of the Soviet Peace Committee and its work on the environmental problems in the Soviet Union.

Editor Interviewed on Effects of Perestroyka

PM1408082089 Rome AVANTI! in Italian 8 Aug 89 pp 8-9

[Interview with ARGUMENTY I FAKTY deputy editor Nikolay Zyatkov by Giancarlo Lehner in Moscow; date not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Lehner] A few days ago your newspaper spoke of perestroyka as dying man surrounded by a group of putschists. This was in an article by Andreyev, which had a major impact in the West. What did it mean?

[Zyatkov] We do not believe that perestroyka has to die. In fact we believe that it must live and be consolidated. Andreyev's article was deliberately provocative and alarmist. People must realize that it is a difficult path. And we like uncovering the conservatives, bringing them out into the open. Once they have shown themselves they are less dangerous.

[Lehner] Was it perhaps a response to Ligachev's ultra-reactionary lecture?

[Zyatkov] Look, Ligachev is only a problem for westerners. If all conservatives were like Ligachev and if he were their leader, well, we could all sleep soundly. The adversaries of perestroyka are more insidious and better concealed. For one thing, they are not just two or three leaders, but millions of people—all 18-20 million members of the nomenklatura, and not only them.

[Lehner] How do they make themselves heard if they remain concealed?

[Zyatkov] For one thing, by circulating false and tendentious information, creating a a climate imbued with terrible irrationality.

[Lehner] Are you referring to the eggs story?

[Zyatkov] Partly. There is still a rumor circulating in Moscow that the eggs are infected, and nobody wants to buy them, despite the well-known food shortages. There were some cases of salmonella poisoning a while ago, but there are some incredible rumors circulating, such as that our eggs cause a slow and ghastly death caused by worms under the skin. Do you not see behind such a fantasy the hand of someone hoping for the worst?

[Lehner] How are you trying to play down the situation and restore people's confidence?

[Zyatkov] The egg story is a case of cynical and perverse exploitation, but the situation is desperate, objectively speaking. We think that the function of the press is to give correct information on the situation without confusing people. We therefore get them to talk and express themselves. Page three of our newspaper is written almost entirely by readers. Every day we receive dozens of sacks of letters. Perestroyka's main innovation is essentially this: The people finally have the right to speak, the right to condemn.

[Lehner] However, you do not investigate the public's allegations. You merely record them. I will give you an example: I will now expose an unbelievable situation relating to your restaurants. The "Praga" restaurant is state-owned, and yet it is a center of legalized corruption. To eat there you have to give the staff generous tips or the answer is always "no": "We are fully booked." You just have to show a bundle of rubles or, better still, a few dollars, and then you can enter the restaurant. If you ask for wine, they say that it is forbidden, or that there is none. Another large tip and the wine appears. This is true of any request: You have to go along with a system based on corruption, even for such ordinary things as eating and drinking in a restaurant. What will you now do? Will you send somebody to the "Praga" and start an investigation, take names, or will you merely report my complaint?

[Zyatkov] I can receive your complaint, but I cannot solve the problem. The problem is a political one: It is necessary to convince the people that there is an urgent need to change the economic system. When the people can choose between a large number of restaurants, competition will automatically create rationality and morality. When that happens our newspaper will even be able to close down a business which is cheating its clients. There is now no point in doing that because it is not "Praga" alone which functions in that way, but everything which is state-owned.

[Lehner] Let us talk about the success of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY. How is your newspaper structured, what rules, staff, and professional code does it have?

[Zyatkov] The first rule for us is "to answer all readers' questions." Everything else stems from this need: We do not write articles to order, we do not deal with official events, aside from essential events like a plenum, or a session of the Congress of People's Deputies. We do not even ever publish the full text of Gorbachev's speeches. We only publish them in full in the case of his meetings with the population. We are primarily interested in the human aspect and, even in Gorbachev's case, we try to collect information about his private life and family life.

[Lehner] It is clear from the sacks of letters which I see, that your answers are convincing....

[Zyatkov] The main thing is to give information—not just words. Our whole press suffers from verbosity. Words, words, words. People are tired of chatter. ARGUMENTY I FAKTY's second commandment is short, very short, crisp articles, capable of providing accurate information. Otherwise, we reject them. In some cases, if a big shot gives an evasive or vague reply, we will perhaps publish it to show everybody that that personality cannot or will not communicate with the public. And the readers are very sophisticated now. They notice immediately if you are talking nonsense: Every time we have published some rigmarole by an expert who in fact says nothing at all, hundreds of letters of protest have poured in.

[Lehner] How is the editorial staff made up?

[Zyatkov] Editor Starkov—when an editor works well, he is worth half the editorial staff—I myself as deputy editor, and a very small number of professionals such as Gelnorovich, Romanenko, and Meshcherskiy. Then there is an army—so to speak, because there around 30—of nonprofessionals, who, however, must be proficient and expert in something. Here we have doctors, engineers, jurists, and intellectuals. Our newspaper is a real school of journalism. Many become professionals following their experience on ARGUMENTY I FAKTY. I myself have followed the same course. Yet, as you see, we operate in a very small and modest editorial office. We are more like a theatrical company than a newspaper. The good thing is that there are no hierarchies, no apparatus here.

[Lehner] Let me ask an awkward question. Your editor has been here for several years—since the period of stagnation. If he suited Brezhnev, how can Gorbachev also like him?

[Zyatkov] Starkov was trying even then to create a new newspaper. Right from that period he avoided "official" articles. The only precaution was not to criticize Brezhnev, even indirectly. Nevertheless, he still had some problems because he very rarely quoted the late-lamented CPSU general secretary. Moreover, he published many letters of protest about the economic and social situation, about the disastrous state of the health service. Certainly, he could not tell the whole truth. Starkov is no

turncoat. He is just a fine journalist who was able to express himself best only when glasnost arrived. Moreover, a real professional cannot fail to love freedom: If he is not free, what kind of journalist is he?

[Lehner] But are you really free?

[Zyatkov] Look, even last year we were receiving threats from the apparatus. Then the threats dwindled into "warnings," and finally disappeared. Now we publish everything, allowing the man in the street to speak. At least glasnost has worked well here. I will tell you an anecdote. This year some friends came from the United States. I found them accommodations in a hotel and returned to the newspaper. When I met with them in the evening, they whispered in my ear: "Do you know that the television set in our room picks up underground networks? And do you know what they are saying?" In fact they were the channels of our television system.... Just imagine; these friends would not believe me and continued to believe that they were underground networks.

[Lehner] Yet I know that you have had some trouble.

[Zyatkov] Yes, it is true. Immediately after the 19th party conference, very harsh criticisms from the Central Committee rained down on us. Then came the restrictions on subscriptions because of the problem with paper, which is a real problem, among other things, but one which at that time was exploited against the progressive press. Gorbachev gave us a hand by dismissing all those who had criticized us. Now we have the constraint imposed by paper supplies, which prevents us from breaking through the 25 million copy barrier. You do not know how many people complain because they cannot find the newspaper. It is sold out as soon as it reaches the newsstands.

[Lehner] And does Gorbachev never "suggest" anything to you?

[Zyatkov] The party's general secretary reads ARGUMENTY I FAKTY closely and seems to rate us highly. He told our editor, and I quote: "Your newspaper is very good, even if I sometimes do not share its approach. Still, it is a good thing that you pay attention to nobody. Carry on like that, without allowing yourselves to be 'used,' heeding only your conscience and your professionalism."

[Lehner] Perhaps he meant that you should not become the newspaper of the radicals of restructuring?

[Zyatkov] By our own free choice we will not become that. The most important gain is pluralism in the mass media. For instance, we like OGONEK and do not support at all the attempt to diabolize its editor, Korotich, but we are ARGUMENTY I FAKTY—the readers' newspaper.

CPSU Discusses 'Zinovevite' Rehabilitations

PM1108153189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Aug 89 First Edition pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission on the Additional Study of Materials Linked With the Repressions of the Thirties, Forties, and Early Fifties"]

[Text] At a routine session the commission heard a report from the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee on the results of the examination of materials linked with the party rehabilitation of people against whom nonjudicial criminal proceedings were instituted in the so-called case of the "Leningrad counterrevolutionary Zinovievite group of Safarov, Zalutskiy, and others."

In this case, held in December 1934, People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs [NKVD] organs arrested under a special procedure and without a prosecutor's warrant 77 people—of whom 65 were members of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) [VKP(b)], including a large number of party, soviet, and economic workers, and representatives of the Leningrad and Moscow intelligentsia—in connection with the so-called "Leningrad center" case during the investigation into the circumstances surrounding the assassination of S.M. Kirov.

Those arrested were interrogated about their past membership in the Zinovievite opposition, which was falsely incriminated of complicity in the S.M. Kirov assassination. No specific charges were made against them. An indictment was not even drawn up in connection with the case. Nonetheless, a 16 January 1935 special conference at the USSR NKVD adopted a resolution under which all persons involved in the case were imprisoned or exiled for varying terms "for having participated in a counterrevolutionary Zinovievite group" or for having "aided and abetted" it. Later, many of them were again subjected to reprisals involving even more severe punishments, up to and including the firing squad, for basically the same groundless reasons.

In the late fifties and early sixties, the so-called case of the "Leningrad counterrevolutionary Zinovievite group of Safarov, Zalutskiy, and others" was the subject of a judicial review which found that all its participants, except G.I. Safarov, had no case to answer. The secondary fabricated cases against the same individuals were also thrown out on the same basis.

Party membership was then restored to the unjustifiably expelled V.A. Brodskiy, T.D. Dmitriyev, G.M. Dryazgov, A.N. Yemelyanov, P.A. Zalutskiy, G.I. Isayev, I.S. Kastritskiy, S.P. Minayev, F.G. Nalivayko, I.K. Naumov, A.N. Panov, M.S. Panfilov, M.V. Pozdeyeva, M.S. Rem, V.A. Sorokin, I.L. Tatarov, Ye.T. Timofeyev, M.M. Kharitonov, and G.I. Shvarts—19 comrades in all.

Examination of the question of the party status of other former party members was postponed. As additional checks proved, there was no compromising information against them. They had not violated party discipline or engaged in anti-Soviet activities. Many of them had indeed been members of the Zinovievite opposition in the past, and this was used as an excuse to institute party proceedings against them and to expel them from the VKP(b) in 1927-1929. They were later rehabilitated. No evidence was found of any complicity by these people in the S.M. Kirov assassination.

Bearing in mind the unsubstantiated nature of the political accusations made against all the other participants in the so-called case of the "Leningrad counterrevolutionary Zinovievite group" and their complete judicial rehabilitation, the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee has restored the party membership of P.K. Alladeynikov, A.I. Aleksandrov, A.A. Antipova, P.A. Bakk, Ya.I. Bogomolnyy, S.N. Bograchev, I.M. Borovichkov, V.S. Bulakh, P.P. Burmistrov, R.R. Vasilyeva, V.A. Vinogradov, Z.N. Gayderova, G.Ye. Gorbachev, N.A. Dmitriyev, K.N. Yemelyanov, Ye.F. Yermolayeva, I.G. Zhestyannikov, I.N. Zelikson, A.-I.I. Zilberman, Ye.K. Korshunov, A.P. Kostina-Bakayeva, M.A. Levin, P.P. Loginov, V.G. Lukin, N.K. Magdaryev, V.P. Matveyev, G.I. Mironov, M.V. Muravyev, A.A. Mushtakov, M.S. Nadel, G.F. Popov, G.P. Potashnikov, I.Ya. Pushtarev, O.N. Ravich, Ye.V. Rogacheva, P.E. Rotskan, P.P. Severov, A.K. Seredokhin, K.S. Solovyev, Yu.B. Tartakovskaya, F.F. Fadeyev, Ya.S. Tseytlin, K.A. Tsyunskiy, and D.N. Shiryayev (all posthumously).

No grounds have been found for the party rehabilitation of S.N. Yegorov, I.F. Kasperskiy, and F.R. Zeyt, who were involved in the case. Study of the materials has shown that they were expelled from the party long before the case arose and for other reasons connected with violating the demands of party discipline and ethics.

The question of the party status of N.A. Bardin and G.I. Safarov will be examined after an additional study of materials relating to them.

The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Commission report has been placed on record by the commission.

The Politburo commission's work continues.

Further on Rehabilitation of Zinovyevite Group

LD1108141489 Moscow TASS in English 1133 GMT 1 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 11 TASS—The Politburo commission studying repressions of the 1930s to the early 1950s has met to hear a report of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee's Party Control Committee on the party rehabilitation of people unlawfully convicted as members of the so-called "Leningrad counter-revolutionary Zinovyevite group".

Their case formed part of an investigation of the so-called "Leningrad Centre" following the murder of Sergey Kirov in December 1934.

The 77 people, including 65 party members, arrested in the case were interrogated on their previous affiliation to the Zinovyev opposition, which was falsely implicated in the murder. No specific charges were made.

Nevertheless, a special meeting of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs on January 16, 1935, passed a resolution under which all those arrested were sent either to labour camps or to internal exile "for being involved in the counter-revolutionary Zinovyevite group" or for "assisting" it.

Many of them were later subjected to repeat reprisals for the same unfounded reasons, only this time the punishment was harsher, including execution by firing squad in a number of cases.

Considering the absence of any evidence against the alleged members of the so-called "Leningrad counter-revolutionary Zinovyevite group" and their complete legal rehabilitation, the Party Control Committee posthumously reinstated most of the, in the party.

The party rehabilitation of the others will be considered after a fuller investigation of the details of their cases.

The Politburo commission took note of the report.

Chemical Weapons Destruction Plant Protested

LD1108192389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Correspondent L. Krechetova report from Chapayevsk, Kuybyshev Oblast; from the "Vremya" newscast:]

[Text] [Krechetova] Chapayevsk, a city of 90,000 inhabitants, is maliciously called a city of young pensioners, of hostages to large-scale chemical industry. There is old, explosion-fraught production right in the city center, and these are frequent discharges of harmful substances. The news of the forthcoming launch of a works for the elimination of chemical weapons—and it was built in secret, even from the local authorities—has aggravated the tension in the city in the extreme. [video shows chemical works in the city, chemical tanks marked "danger—poison"]

The belated explanations by representatives of the Ministry of Defense concerning the safety of the installation have proved unconvincing. [video shows public meeting in a city square]

What is your opinion about the construction of the works and its launch into exploitation?

[First woman] Undesirable.

[Krechetova] And yours?

[First man] Negative.

[Second woman] Of course I am against it. All people want to live.

[Krechetova] Why does this frighten you so?

[Second woman] Because there is no confidence that the works will be safe. Are you sure of that yourself?

[Krechetova] No.

[Second woman] Nobody is sure of it.

[S.M. Serik, chairman of the city executive committee] Given the situation existing today, the ecological atmosphere, the works should not exist next to the city of Chapayevsk.

[Krechetova] Two km from the works is its residential settlement and beyond it, you see, lies Chapayevsk. [video shows works, with settlement in background; Chapayevsk is shown behind the settlement] A little farther is Novokuybyshevsk, the city of the petrochemical workers, and Kuybyshev, a city of nearly 1.5 million people. Settlements, roads, and the Volga lie all around. All of this will be under constant threat. Meetings have been going on since February. They have been collections of signatures on petitions, and there have been trips of delegates to Moscow to see the government. There has been a deputy's enquiry from the USSR people's deputy for the oblast.

Today pickets have been set up near the works. [Video shows a sign with the word "Iskra"; banners are draped around the sign, one banner reads "no to a works in our region for elimination of chemical weapons"]

[First female picket] I have come here, not alone, but with my child. And I have come here in order to urge all women and all mothers to come here to protest against this works.

[Second female picket] We want to live, and this girl—she is still small—wants to learn and to live.

[First male picket] I am a war participant. I am elderly. I have been through war and know what death is. I am joining these pickets and will support them until they close this works.

[Second male picket] A strike is, in general, not needed, but we are being forced to do it. The government generally is not taking any measures.

[Krechetova] [Video shows people entering the V.P. Chapayev Palace of Culture] At the latest meeting of representatives of party and local soviet bodies and of work collectives, an appeal to the USSR Supreme Soviet was passed. While supporting the peace-loving policy of the state and the signing of an international convention on prohibition of chemical weapons, the people of the city ask the Supreme Soviet to examine the demands of the inhabitants of Chapayevsk and finally to pass a decision proceeding from the situation that has taken shape.

Krasnoyarsk Nuclear Waste Site Protested

18220184 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 29 Jul 89 p 4

[Article by SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA correspondent V. Pyrkh: "The Mystery of Site 27"]

[Text] Krasnoyarsk was aroused by the news of the construction of an enterprise for processing the waste of nuclear power stations proceeding not far from the city. Under pressure from the public, its construction was curtailed, and a special commission was set up. SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA reported this on 23 July. Our correspondent V. Pyrkh met with Chairman of the Krasnoyarsk Kray Ispolkom [executive committee], USSR People's Deputy V. Sergiyenko, who heads the commission.

[Sergiyenko] In the kray all they knew about the installation was that 14 years ago it was resolved to build in the vicinity of Krasnoyarsk a plant for processing the heat-emitting elements of nuclear power stations. However, last summer, when one of the farms in Sukhobuzimskiy Rayon planned to build a hog-breeding complex, the nuclear people dropped a hint that this could not be done. This is when the current leadership of the kray took interest in the installation site 27; in other words, the burial site for radioactive wastes.

"This is an installation absolutely harmless for the environment"—at first the specialists who have already managed to invest R27 million in building the site tried to calm them. To be sure, they also added that within 6 to 8 km of the site subsurface waters cannot be used....

[Pyrkh] Valeriy Ivanovich, why was the commission needed? After all, work on the facility has been curtailed; within just a couple days, about 100,000 signatures of citizens were collected in Krasnoyarsk under the demand to close it down.

[Sergiyenko] We intend to provide complete and exhaustive information to the public. A decade and a half ago, the location of the site was chosen on the basis of the following considerations: The kray has powerful construction facilities and skilled cadres. Geological conditions were the last thing on their mind. What we now call the human factor did not enter in the consideration at all. Perhaps, this is the reason why the burial site was intended to hold not only the wastes of our nuclear power stations, but those of a number of European

countries. We have asked the USSR Academy of Sciences to carry out an additional ecological study. Its result will definitely be released to the public. We have also got our scientists involved in the research.

[Pyrkh] The news about the pipeline for injecting radioactive waste into the bowels of the earth being laid under the Yenisey has virtually shocked the citizens of Krasnoyarsk. A special tunnel has already been dug for the pipeline. Is the great Siberian river also going to be kept "hostage?"

[Sergiyenko] The design is marked by great reliability. The main pipelines are designed with reserves. Instead of one line, there are going to be three. All pipes have special protection. The safety of transportation along the entire 20-km route is in keeping with stringent international standards. Still, there is a danger of leaks since there is a solution. Chernobyl has taught us a lot. We are against such construction.

[Pyrkh] However, the wastes need to be somehow disposed of.... For example, in the United States quite a few special wells operate for the injection of toxic wastes, including radioactive ones, into the bowels of the earth. We also have similar experience with disposal. Could it be that you are now guided by emotions rather than common sense?

[Sergiyenko] Of course, I am not a proponent of going back to the Stone Age. Still... For example, the authors of the design state in their desire to calm us: The radioactive wastes injected into the earth will completely decay in a natural manner in 1,500 to 2,000 years. It is good that farmers will be able to again plant wheat or rye around the nuclear waste site in the remote future. However, the citizens of Krasnoyarsk need water and agricultural land right now. They also want to have the safety of their children guaranteed. What is to be done?

I believe that, regardless of the results of ecological studies, one conclusion is in order: We should rectify what has been done before it is too late. For example, the tunnel passage under the Yenisey could become an excellent underground crossing for motor vehicles. The construction of the installations has got to be stopped entirely. No burial sites, including nuclear ones, should exist in the immediate vicinity of major cities in our country.

Interior Ministry Gives Data on Economic Crimes

LD2507201689 Moscow TASS in English 1546 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 25 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov:

Ways of combatting crime in the sphere of the economy, particularly in the cooperative sector, were discussed at today's briefing of the USSR Interior Ministry.

Vyacheslav Runyshkov, chief of the ministry's main directorate for combatting economic crimes, said that in the first six months his department uncovered 146,322 economic crimes, 618 facts of violating regulations on foreign currency operations and prevented nearly 20,000 crimes. Against this background, he said, data on crimes in the cooperative sector of the economy do not seem disturbing. Last year nearly 1,500 economic crimes were registered, which was less than one per cent of their total number nationwide. But already in the first six months of this year over 3,000 crimes were reported in the cooperative sector.

Runyshkov largely attributed the negative phenomena in the cooperative sector of the economy to the imperfection of the USSR Law on Cooperation and unregulated taxation system. The USSR Supreme Soviet is considering the draft law on progressive taxation of cooperative businesses. Runyshkov said that the draft proposed a scale of progressive taxation ranging from 3 to 60 per cent. The amount of tax will depend on the production activity of a cooperative. For example, businesses which help children, disabled and old people will be either exempt from tax or pay not more than 3 per cent. Trade and intermediate cooperatives will face taxes ranging from 40 to 60 per cent, which is the current practice in all CMEA member countries, Runyshkov pointed out.

Militia Recruitment Problems Highlighted

PM2507135183 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Report by S. Ostrovskiy in the 29 June TYUMENSKAYA PRAVDA under the rubric "In the Focus of the Press": "'On Foot and Armed With a Pen Against a Criminal'"]

[Text] "However much is written about the fact that our crime detection rate is several times higher than that in Italy, the ordinary man in the street does not feel any safer for this.

"...There are questions which have long troubled members of internal affairs organs. For example, where and how to seek cadres for militia service. The idea of swelling militia ranks with worthy people who have the trust of the working people is not always successful in practice. On transferring to the militia both one's economic and social ties with the labor collective are severed. For the collective itself, this situation has become rather like a case of out of sight, out of mind. The new recruit is not burdened with responsibility to those who sent him into the organs. The administration sometimes makes use of this to get rid of lazy, unnecessary people, while giving them wonderful character references.

"To whose benefit is it to cut corners with the militia? The cheapest law-enforcement organs in the world cost the ordinary people very dear."

Geography, Statistics of Moscow Reported

LD1308125889 Moscow TASS in English 1235 GMT 13 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 13 TASS—By TASS correspondent Pyotr Lidin:

It is said in a preface to the recently published map of Moscow that its area is 994 square kilometres. Now, however, this information is obsolete. Several townships were added to Moscow, and it became one of the very few cities of the world whose area exceeds 1,000 square kilometres.

There are hills and depressions on this vast territory. The difference of their levels was over 100 meters some time ago. Now it was reduced to a little more than several dozen meters. It is regarded that Moscow is located on seven hills. The Borovitskiy hill with the Kremlin built on it is the biggest of them. Of course, there are no hills today, but streets and lanes going up and down can show the location of the Tverskoy, Sretenskiy and Lefortovskiy hills. There are really seven of them.

Some time ago there were 120 rivers on the territory of Moscow. The city boasted 800 lakes and ponds. At present only four rivers apart from the Moskva river, the Yauza, the Setun, the Skhodnya and the Godynia, are flowing in open river-beds. Another 62 rivers are flowing inside pipes with a total length of 244 kilometers under streets and squares. These include comparatively big rivers, like the Neglinka, on which mills and even paper producing factores were working 200 years ago. The rest of the rivers were filled up with earth. About 100 ponds were preserved, mostly in the suburbs and only some of them in the centre—the Chistye, the Presnenskye and the Pionerskie ponds at which ducks hatch out their nestlings in summer an which are used as skating-rings in winter.

Weather observations have been conducted in Moscow for a long time. However, regular measurements of air temperatures began to be taken only 10 years ago. Since that time the lowest temperature was registered in January 1940 (minus 42.2 degrees centigrade) and the highest in august 1920 (36.8 degrees centigrade). The city is so big that the temperature can be different in various districts. the "heat pole" is situated near the Maly Kamenny (stone) bridge, in the centre of the city. In summer the temperature there is 8-12 degrees higher than in the Khimki district which is regarded as the "cold pole". In winter the temperature difference is only 5-6 degrees. However, a total length of sunny days is 100 hours smaller in the centre than in the suburbs because of the effect on the Moscow weather of stone building and the asphalt.

Some time ago Moscow was often affected by floods. The biggest flood of the current century took place in 1908. Water in the Moskva river rose by about 9 meters, exceeding the embankments level by 2.3 metres. The last flood took place in 1931, after which the river run-off was fully regulated.

Article Assesses Works of Solzhenitsyn

18001460 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Aug 89 p 2

[Article by Aleksandr Lavrin and Petr Palamarchuk: "Approaching Solzhenitsyn"; under the rubric "Dialogue of the Week"]

[Text] After a month's break we are renewing our column "Dialogue of the Week." In the responses of readers (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA No 18) and writers (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA No 28) the idea of a weekly polemic discussion of actual literary-social problems received support and approval. Today we give the floor to writers of the generation of "30-year-olds." One of the participants in the dialogue is Aleksandr Lavrin, a poet and critic who recently became a member of the editorial staff of the magazine YUNOST. Petr Palamarchuk is a prose writer and critic and author of "Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn: Guide" published in the almanac "Kuban" (Nos 2-5, 1989). Of course, after the publication of the "Nobel Lecture" of A.I. Solzhenitsyn in NOVYY MIR (No 7) and on the eve of the publication of "GULAG Archipelago" in the same magazine, the dialogue deals with this writer.

P.P.: Palamarchuk and Larin. The initials P and L seem to call for an elaboration—right and left [Russian: "pravyy" and "levyy"]. In the middle stands the common idol of our youth: A.I. Solzhenitsyn. But looking at it from the vantage point of mature years, to what extent is he "common" and, as before, an idol?

A.L.: Yes, indeed. These days it is almost embarrassing to talk about Solzhenitsyn, for both the left and the right pull him over themselves like a blanket, only to wave it like a flag in the present cold civil war. And yet he guides our thoughts today however far apart they may be.

P.P.: For the first time in our home daily press since the publication of the Nobel speech in the seventh issue of NOVYY MIR, we can discuss it openly, and according to an ingrained Russian habit, begin from the end. Just by making and publishing the speech, Solzhenitsyn brings up the Russian saying: "One word of truth will turn the world around." Few believed in its validity, at least in their lifetimes, but here a living writer saw it realized. Here one cannot fail to mention that truth is partly honored not only in eternity, but also among us mortals. In 1981 Solzhenitsyn wrote to my former good neighbor in Moscow, already then an involuntary resident of Munich, poet Yuriy Kublanovskiy. He greatly feared that his exile would become permanent, but Aleksandr Isayevich predicted: "Wait a little, in about 8 years we will again be on our soil." As another saying goes, freedom to the free, heaven to the saved.

A.L.: With my unquestioning admiration of Solzhenitsyn as a man, I do not, sorry to say, regard highly Solzhenitsyn the artist as far as his own artistic, not documentary works are concerned. It seems to me that

his artistic yoke is greatly skewed in the direction of politics to the detriment of art. On this, many readers of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA will have to take me at my word, but not for too long, because already this month NOVYY MIR begins to print "GULAG Archipelago." This faith, which you mentioned, faith in the absolute power of the truth, compulsion to speak the truth and nothing but the truth, doesn't it destroy the mystical essence of art, paradoxical in its nature: "Exalted lies are dearer to us than lowly, murky truth." To be sure it's not the deceit that hides its shame under the fig leaf of social realism, but deceit in the higher sense, such as the search for the Holy Grail, the mythical land of Belovodiye, everlasting ideal independent of our pitiful attempts toward social justice.

P.P.: It is always good to look into the roots of the words we are using. "Politics" comes from the Greek "polis" meaning "city" or "realm." In the Christian tradition after Augustine, it became customary to differentiate between the secular realm and the divine realm, leading to major discord about the meaning and purpose of human life. With this understanding of politics one finds in Solzhenitsyn a totally new one, on an order higher than art, when he describes underlying historic events. In this he takes truly fateful events, like, for instance, the French and Russian revolutions. Last year he printed a special article, like a budding from the epic "Red Wheel," dedicated to the comparison of these two world-scale catastrophes. In its concluding words discussion arises about your beloved mysticism. He states that a large revolution opens to us such depths of existence that it is doubtful one could call them purely physical. And now, in connection with the Nobel speech, it is time to ask this question: Solzhenitsyn refers to the famous words of Prince Myshkin about beauty saving the world. But didn't philosopher Simon Frank, having had experience in revolutionary times, observe more precisely that "beauty itself is in need of salvation?"

A.L.: Yes, but Solzhenitsyn preaches first of all not about saving beauty but about saving the living and avenging the dead, destroyed by the theoreticians and practitioners of the "ideal society." And in the treatment of art he is somewhat self-contradictory. In the beginning of the Nobel lecture he compares art to a gaudy bauble dropped to us savages from heaven. We turn it this way and the other, try to apply it to our needs, but in the end puzzle out only an "accessible baser service." After such an introduction, it seems, one would wait to be enlightened about, or at least hinted at, the higher purpose of art. In vain! The lecture ends with a trivial and utilitarian concept: The task of literature is to tell the truth, to defend the debased and the injured, not before God but before Caesar. Literature, as we see, is looked at as a political weapon even though the idol of our youth himself devoted years to the liberation of art from public, political institutions.

P.P.: When the almanac "Kuban" printed my "Guide to Solzhenitsyn" this year, a local professor stuck an article in a newspaper entitled "Monarchist, Zionist"—one label appeared insufficient. And this is what a real monarchist wrote just before her execution—Olga, eldest daughter of Nicholas II: "Father asks to tell all those who remained faithful to him, and to those whom they could influence, that they not avenge him because he has forgiven all and prays for all, and that they not take revenge for themselves lest that evil which is now in the world become still stronger, but that only love—not evil—will defeat evil."

A.L.: It is this love in the high Christian sense that I find lacking in Solzhenitsyn. If, in the unlikely event he were to return to his homeland, his residence would surely become a new Yasnaya Polyana. But of humility like Tolstoy's there would be no trace. As I imagine Solzhenitsyn—he is rather a fire- breathing Old Testament prophet waving categorical imperatives like a bludgeon: This is permitted, this is not, this is bad, this is good. In his many speeches and publications I see no more New Testament humility than among his opponents. True, politics put such thumbscrews on us that one uncontrollably cries to get the screw loosened by one-and-a-half or two turns. Yet it is more important to me to hear prayers for the salvation of the soul, rather than howling to get the vise loosened.

P.P.: We now have two living Nobel prize recipients—both abroad, and how different! At Solzhenitsyn's 70th birthday conference in the United States, the poet (also an exile) Dmitriy Vobyshev presented a report on the subject. Brodskiy, he said, sloughed off his language and culture like a skin. Solzhenitsyn, on the contrary, "these days makes his style increasingly arresting...more and more 'Russian'...which fully corresponds to his new concentration on the crucial points of Russian culture and history." Incidentally, in the next report, Professor D. Dunlop, expert on current Russian social movements, noted that many in the country consider it urgently important to bring the writer into discussion of future paths for Russia, because "Solzhenitsyn, with his reputation of being an irreproachable Russian patriot, could become a significant force conducive to moderation." But on 12 May of this year, the newspaper TRUD printed an article by A. Vasilkov entitled "The Vermont Recluse" in which, broadly and in detail, conference materials are cited and the following question is asked: What if Solzhenitsyn returns to the homeland and, in contrast to the now-visiting emigrants, freely decides to remain permanently? It is answered thus: "The consequences...might be rather unprofitable for those who think they have a 'monopoly' on manipulating Solzhenitsyn and his popularity."

Two more former predictions, which by now have turned out tragically.... The 1974 collected works entitled "From Under Ice Floes" contained the following: "Our country can no longer be inflamed by class hatred—so much blood has been spilled and the theory of class struggle has become so bankrupt...but it is easy to inflame national hatreds...they are almost ready for spontaneous combustion; therefore our concerns must

be directed toward preventing this most acute nationality problem—especially acute in the USSR—from exploding, from conflagration, from interethnic clashes." And in 1983, about "pluralists"—supporters of a multiplicity of ideas not for the search for the truth, but for the sake of the numbers themselves: "Suddenly a mass of party bureaucrats pour over us—these...powers will also surface—and not out of concern for peoples' needs, the earth, the dying-out of species. We will hear their thousand-voiced roar not about everyone's duties and responsibilities, but about rights, rights...and will smash our relics in one more February, one more disintegration...."

A.L.: Moderates in Russia have always been museum rarities, to say the least! But the situation in our homeland is such that the works of Solzhenitsyn will not add to moderation and will not calm passions. Let us say I, and as I understand it, you are reasonably familiar with Solzhenitsyn's publicized ideas, but thousands and thousands will reject them out of hand, not thinking about their historical foundations. Then discord will follow; good if over only one issue! I hope that our generation will decide such quarrels with dialogues of words, and not of other means. But you and I have already read almost all of Solzhenitsyn, while the majority of readers are just beginning, and the dialogue about him is only beginning.

Economic

Plans To Convert Defense Industry Outlined

LD1408081189 Moscow TASS in English 0700 GMT 14 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 14 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov:

Civilian products will account for 46 per cent of the entire amount of production by the branches of the defence sector in the Soviet Union next year and will grow up to 60 per cent by 1995.

These are target figures of a state plan being elaborated in the Soviet Union for defence industry conversion. The main parameters of the plan must be ready at the end of this year.

In 1991 the volume of the delivery of weapons and military hardware is to be reduced by 19.5 per cent compared to the 1988 level, Igor Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Council of Ministers' State Commission for Defence Industry Affairs, told TASS.

He said that already this year the production of military hardware will account for 95.5 per cent of the 1988 level, whereas the output of civilian products will grow by 8.9 per cent.

Next year the output of civilian products will increase by 13 per cent as compared with this year. Provision is made for a more than 30 per cent rise in the production of consumer goods.

Three plants which will fully switch over to the output of civilian products in 1990-1992 have already been determined. These are factories in Yuryuzan and Yoshkar Ola which turn out products for land forces and the shipbuilding yard in Kiev.

Belousov emphasised that production facilities and scientific and technological potential being released during conversion is to be concentrated on boosting the output and raising the quality of equipment for the agro-industrial sector and the light industry, consumer goods, computing and medical equipment, means of communications, and civilian planes and ships.

At the same time Belousov pointed out that a considerable part of appropriations which will be released during the process of reducing defence spending is to be used for the readjustment of technology, the remaking of tooling, the reorganisation of production, and re- training of personnel.

In order to keep up social maintenance of the personnel of plants which switch over to the output of civilian products, it is essential to find means to make up for wage losses and expenses for retraining, and to tackle employment issues and other social problems.

Latvia Begins Converting Equipment

LD1208105389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 12 Aug 89

[Summary] The local inter-sectoral construction organization in Aluksne in the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic has started adapting military equipment for peaceful purposes. This machinery and equipment previously belonged to one of the missile bases scrapped in keeping with the treaty between the USSR and the United States. The equipment will be used in the sections of the economic complex, which are most in need of it. During the reduction of the Armed Forces, some military property is handed over for civic needs without payment. But motor vehicles and intricate equipment have to be paid for. A trade fair and an auction of military equipment were held in the republic recently.

Conversion Shorts Agriculture

18240217 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 1 Aug 89 p 2

[Article by D. Bikov, department chief, Tatar ASSR Gosplan: "Swords Into Plowshares: How the Defense Branches Are Making the Transition to Peaceful Production"]

[Text] Conversion.... Until recently, this word was known only to specialists. But today it is firmly fixed in the lexicon of economists and businessmen. They are

beginning to assimilate peaceful production in places where "cannons" were manufactured for decades. But the process of conversion is proceeding in a complicated rather than simple matter. There are more than enough problems here.

In general, we have been collaborating with defense industry enterprises for some time. Since the beginning of the 5-year plan, the Gorbunov Aviation Association, the 60th Anniversary of the USSR Helicopter Association, and others have supplied the village with almost R40 million of machines and equipment. The most disparate line of products, from feed-harvesting combines and sprinkler systems to simple farm water dispensers.

But all of this had been some sort of patronage assistance. The situation is now changing radically. By 1990, the defense production volume in the Tatar Autonomous Republic will be reduced by almost 10 percent, and by even more in certain enterprises. Space and equipment are being freed up; there is the opportunity to put out products worth not tens, but hundreds of millions of rubles.

The prospects are great. But the question arises—what to produce instead of military equipment? An intensive search for new production is in progress. The problem cannot be resolved by a wave of the hand—every enterprise and production line needs a concrete approach, and in general, a precise program for conversion of the defense complex is required.

One of the main sections of the program is the reorientation of freed capacities toward meeting the needs of agriculture and processing. Yet it may already be said that the defense enterprises do not wish to concern themselves with the demands of the village.

To be fair, we will speak of the internal difficulties which the defense industry workers encountered during the process of conversion. It is extraordinarily difficult to restructure production in a short period, to alter the psychology of people working for the army and receiving wages 1 and ½ to 2 times higher than those of their colleagues in regular branches, along with various other benefits. In making the transition to peaceful production, many industries are forced to think first and foremost of how to keep, and not lose, qualified workers. Space and equipment are not being freed immediately as would be desired. All of these difficulties can be overcome, and in the final analysis, it is not these problems which are interfering with the transition to producing equipment for the village. The unresolved problems of material and technological support are restraining the process. There is an acute shortage of metal, product components, and electrical equipment.

The production of KEP-400 electric ovens for making pryaniki [little cakes] and various other baked goods was dragged out for a long time. Their production was assimilated at an affiliate of the Kazan Motor Building Association, but output is still too low. Provisions are still an obstruction; how should the problem be resolved? It seems that now, while the process of conversion is in progress, it is necessary to take the production of agricultural and processing equipment at the defense complex enterprises out of decentralized order. They should be granted state order, which provides material-technological resources. I feel that this is a timely measure called upon to be in effect until wholesale trade is developed.

And of course, the workers of the fields and farms must not receive "solid gold," but fairly inexpensive machines and mechanisms. For the time being, healthy economic relations between the defense industry and agro-industrial complexes have not been fine-tuned.

Enterprises have had the right to establish contract prices for their goods and services since December 1987. This statute, confirmed by the USSR State Committee on Prices, is also fixed in the USSR Law on State Enterprises. It has recently become quite noticeable that plants and factories are reconsidering concluded contracts for the delivery of components, assemblies, and systems, and raising their prices. With a deficit of agricultural equipment and spare parts, the producers dictate their will without the guidance of economic logic. The defense industry is not without sin.

What need forced the Kazan defense enterprise managed by Ye. Gritsenko, to raise the price of a feed-harvesting combine assembly from R119 to R182? A completely volitional decision.

Or another example: The production of the Institute of Applied Optics used to supply rural residents with flanges for 60 kopeks. Recently, citing economic accountability, they raised the price of this simple object to R12...twenty times higher! We ran an analysis which showed that the item's price increase was going mostly toward growth in wages and overhead expenses, sometimes mythical ones. Such "earnings" of resources by enterprises which have gone over to economic accountability only discredit the essence of economic restructuring, and place a heavy burden on the rural economy.

"Cunning" has also been encountered, especially by defense enterprises which inflate prices on products that in their eyes are undesirable. They do this in order to scare off consumers and then shrug and say that goods are not moving. Thus, the already fragile contacts are destroyed.

In our view, a system of price formation fitting the demands of rural residents should be installed. In the first phase, prices for such products must be established within reasonable limits by state organs. This is not to indulge the village, nor to infringe upon the independence of the industrial entities. We speak a great deal on how we are indebted to the village, so let us move from

words to deeds. The market will be filled as conversion is strengthened and production of agricultural equipment and spare parts grow; prices will begin to reflect the necessary expenses of their production. Then their need to be established by the state will fall off.

I could be reproached for wanting both state order and state prices. Yes, I am proposing it! But only in order that results of the conversion are manifested now, and not in the illusive future. Defense industry workers can help the rural economy, by producing equipment for full processing of the products of the fields and farms, means for small-scale mechanization for peasant farms and leasing collectives, and much more. Their high scientific-technological, and cadre potential will allow them to do that. All of this must be done not tomorrow, but without delay....

Use of Idle Imported Equipment Urged

18230069 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
30 Jul 89 Second Edition p 4

[Letter to the editor from V. Tsaubulin, CPSU member since 1957, Leningrad: "Glasnost and Effectiveness"]

[Text] Under the rubric "Dialog" of 5 March 1989 and the headline "Dead Stock" one can read: "...Uninstalled equipment was piled up in our country on 1 January 1989 in the sum of more than R14 billion, including imported equipment in the sum of more than R4.6 billion. "And further: "The stocks of imported uninstalled equipment in 1988 increased by R347 million."

Perestroyka is moving, but disgraceful goings-on are increasing against all logic. What is the reason? You see, any person in the country understands that, as usual, words and deeds are at variance. On all TV and radio channels, specialists, economists and politicians try to convince the people: The import of commodities to fill the vacuum in retail trade is not acceptable, and we must in the shortest time possible reequip our industry with the newest equipment, including imported equipment. The people have a right to expect a zealous attitude toward currency resources that have been saved on their unsatisfied needs.

But it turns out that vitally important equipment, to put it mildly, is functionally and physically aging in warehouses and under the open sky. I classify this as a crime. And not simply against the economy, but against the political line of the party and against the people.

And no one is taking any decisive measures. And PRAVDA—an organ of the Communist Party—restricts itself to a statement of facts, thereby demonstrating glasnost. Information like this undermines the authority of managers and raises the people's doubts regarding the capability of today's party functionaries ability to effectively implement the leading role of the party in the resolution of the most important practical tasks of perestroyka, especially those that are declared to be priority at all forums. Do not think anything bad: For me glasnost is beyond doubt and above suspicion!

As a member of the party, I am not pleased with the treatment of stated facts and the method of providing information in the "Dialog." There should be space below such an item for information about the extraordinary measures that both the newspaper and the party are taking on a given question.

Or, perhaps, the scale of the disaster is not sensed? In damage, it amounts to Chernobyl and the earthquake in Armenia put together! But in both cases, a special governmental commission was at work!

I believe that the question concerning uninstalled equipment also requires the creation of a special commission of the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers consisting of competent, decisive, and energetic people with special authority. The tasks of the commission: To mobilize and to concentrate all the capabilities of the country and local resources to install the purchased equipment and to put it into operation. To make an immediate decision to remove the equipment and to transfer it to enterprises that are capable of installing and assimilating it effectively. Information about the work of the commission in the media should be effective and urgent. And it should be this way to a total resolution of the problem! Success comes in the process of purposeful practical actions, and not in prolonged discussions about them.

We, Communists, are not fulfilling our work in a practical way—it is a syndrome of practical inadequacy. The new style of work toward an end result has not been mastered. We make noise, argue, attend meetings, and send articles to newspapers! But something entirely different is required, as in a revolution and in a civil war: Figuratively speaking, we have to roll up our sleeves and tighten our belts—and go to the people, approach the practical problem at a new level, and win the authority and the trust of the people in a new way.

From the Editor. The PRAVDA issue of 5 March lists the ministries that are guilty of piling up huge stocks of uninstalled equipment to the greatest degree, in particular, Minavtoselkhozmash [Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building] (R1.5 billion) and Minchermet [Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy] (R1.1 billion).... We have not yet received any replies from either the ministries or the enterprises. We support the proposal of the reader to establish a special commission to resolve this problem.

Problems With Foreign Enterprise Ties Viewed

18070730 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
31 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[Article by M. Tretyakov: "Losses or Income"]

[Text] Can economic cooperation between foreign partners be unprofitable initially? At first glance the question is absurd, and any economist will respond to it in the

negative. But not very long ago the practice of creating joint enterprises with socialist countries gave precisely this response. This was explained by the complicated hierarchical structure of the management of our national economy, in which a specific executor—an enterprise—was on the lowest rung. The decision about whom it would cooperate with, or set up joint production with, was made by workers from higher managerial organs, who, at times, were interested to a lesser degree in the economic effect of cooperation than in satisfying the authorities. For example, that was the state of affairs with the formation of the Soviet-Polish joint enterprises about which PRAVDA wrote more than a year ago in an article "The Time of Expectations has Passed."

Now the situation is turning for the better. The changes were brought about by the fact that, within the framework of the country's existing large-scale economic transformations, enterprises have been given the right to enter the foreign market and independently use up to 45 percent of currency revenues from the sale of export products while deciding with whom to collaborate.

They are performing now not as one-time buyers but as economic organizations that are planning the receipt of additional profits from cooperation with foreign partners. One can now run into directors of our enterprises more frequently at international industrial exhibitions and fairs. In one of these large exhibitions "Equipment, Devices, and Instruments for the Metal Processing Industry"—"Metallobrabotka-89," [Metalprocessing-89] which was held in June in Moscow, a large group of managers of machine-tool plants participated. They displayed examples of their series production and familiarized themselves with the technical innovations of foreign firms. There was a lot to see.

More than 600 leading firms from 25 countries demonstrated their modern technological equipment, including flexible production systems, advanced control-measurement devices and metal-cutting instruments, and systems for controlling metal-processing equipment.

Products of socialist countries were widely displayed at the exhibition, first and foremost of the GDR, Poland, Bulgaria, and Romania. The close, effective cooperation of the Soviet Union with fraternal socialist countries in the area of metal-processing is at least evident in this figure. Of the total sum of the contracts, concluded at the exhibition, which reached R400 million, the trade agreement between the USSR and the PPR [Polish People's Republic] amounted to R50 million. A no smaller contract was also signed with Czechoslovakia.

However, it cannot be said that everything is running smoothly with the established direct ties and the creation of joint enterprises and economic organizations. Figuratively speaking, gaining proficiency in these new progressive forms of economic interaction with foreign partners can be compared with driving not on a paved highway but on a village road where one perpetually runs into ruts and bumps. Not enough experience has been gained yet. And frequently enterprises approach the experience in the old way: They say, the product that we produced will be bought, inasmuch as everything is planned.

This was previously acceptable, but no longer. Especially because enterprises now get deductions, and significant ones, from their exports, and they can independently use them. Now the buyer has become more zealous with respect to products that are offered, and he compares them with similar products of the leading firms both in quality and price.

It is these kinds of difficulties that were encountered by the Moscow production association "Krasnyy Proletaryy" and the Bulgarian combine "Beroye," in the city of Stara-Zagora, which have been cooperating for several years now. After forming the International Scientific Production Association "Krasnyy Proletaryy-Beroye" in 1986, they took on the task of providing the socialist countries with adaptable production systems and industrial robot-mechanical arms. The Bulgarian combine supplies its Moscow colleagues with robot-mechanical arms with a load lifting capability of 10 kg, a system of digital control for robots with a load lifting capability of 10 and 20 kg, and various nodes and parts. In turn, "Krasnyy Proletaryy" sent lathes with digital control programs and other equipment to Stara-Zagora. In 1987 the volume of mutual deliveries reached almost R57 million, but the following year this fell to R39 million, and this trend is continuing this year also.

Judging only by the figures, the conclusion can be made that cooperation within the scope of a joint association is being reduced. But this is not the case at all. The fact is, as was shown by carefully conducted analysis, after the signing of the agreement on the creation of the MNPO [International Scientific Production Association] "Krasnyy Proletaryy-Beroye," serious errors were committed in the area of forecasting demand and the development of cooperating industries. Now the situation is improving.

Specialists of the cooperating enterprises have developed a scientifically-based forecast of the development of interaction for the years 1990-1992. It takes into account changing needs in jointly produced equipment, and a new nomenclature has been developed for joint production, including special machines and automatic lines, and adaptable production systems for the autotractor industry.

There is a problem. And a rather serious one. You see, the enterprise suffered losses as a result of a mechanism of cooperation that was poorly conceived and not thoroughly worked out. This could have been avoided if the cooperation with foreign partners and the formation of joint enterprises had been absolutely based on the principle of profit and economic effect. But this needs the development of criteria of cooperation in which it would be clear and completely understood by the participants

as to why our plants created the enterprise and, for example, why this was done with Bulgaria and not between several Soviet enterprises.

Joint enterprises and economic organizations with foreign partners is one of the ways of overcoming technological backwardness that does not require large currency expenditures. This is a good and promising arrangement within the scope of international division of labor if, of course, an efficient system of mutual cooperation exists inside the country between enterprises of separate industries. We talk a lot about an aggressive broadening of the wholesale trade market by means of production, but for some reason we do not raise to an equal degree the question of developing a domestic methodology for creating joint enterprises that encompass different industries of the national economy. What happens is that we enter into cooperation with foreign enterprises less prepared than they are, including with CEMA countries, which are actively cooperating within their own states.

The economic transformations that are taking place in the socialist countries, during which the main emphasis is on the enterprise and its apportionment as the main element in the national economy, and granting the latter broad independence in the resolution of current and prospective problems, has surfaced many problems within the framework of socialist economic integration. This was the subject of a conversation with B. Kurakin, deputy minister of the USSR Ministry of Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry and a member of the organizational committee of the exhibition.

"In my opinion, and in the opinion of many specialists in the area of international cooperation," he thinks, "the main task today is to develop a far-reaching program of harmonizing economic law within the scope of CEMA. Without a firm legal basis, we will constantly run into different, and at times insurmountable, difficulties in mutual interaction. Cooperation should not be conducted by command-administrative and use-of-force methods, but by economic methods—through the ruble, corona, gold etc. And there should be no fear of making mistakes. How does it turn out today? If one of the parties, finding out that the interaction is not giving the planned results, wants to drop out of the arrangement, this is viewed as a ChP [extraordinary incident]. In world practice such a step is considered natural. That the cooperation did not succeed means another partner has to be found, and there is nothing terrible in this.

Of course, failures are frought with certain losses, and a legal question arises as to who has to cover them. An insurance fund should be created within the CEMA framework for this purpose. It is also necessary for the support of large research and economic initiatives that require the investment of hundreds of millions of rubles, which could have a great economic effect in the future and promote breakthroughs in one industryor another. Such an organ would participate in profits from the sale of major projects and at the same time cover possible losses. This would help to overcome trivial pursuits in our cooperation and to undertake implementation of major and really revolutionary projects jointly and on an economic basis.

We live in a time when breakup processes of once settled concepts are, in varying degrees, occurring in the economic life of communist countries; when outmoded forms of economic cooperation are being eliminated, and when economic laws, not political pressures are becoming paramount. The center of gravity in interaction is now shifting from the state level to the side of enterprises. This is gratifying. Economic cooperation is finally getting its own real boss in the form of enterprises and associations.

Amendments to State Enterprise Law Welcomed

PM1008144589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Aug 89 Morning Edition p 1

[V. Romanyuk article under the "Topic of the Day" rubric: "The Power of the Labor Collective"]

[Text] The draft Law "On Introducing Amendments and Additions to the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association)" has been examined and adopted by extraordinary procedure at the USSR Supreme Soviet session.

Let us try to assess at once the magnitude of the event. A paradoxical situation has taken shape lately: On the one hand, the economic reform has generated energetic lawmaking; on the other, the complaints that it does not meet today's requirements have intensified. The problem is that administrative-edict methods of running the economy have been enshrined in legislation over many years. The old methods of legal regulation were not completely overcome even in drafting the first version of the Law on the State Enterprise. Practice has shown that it did not give enough economic autonomy to collectives while at the same time freeing ministries and departments from responsibility for decisions which produced adverse consequences for enterprises.

In short, the law was clearly not working in the best way. This prompted some people's deputies to submit for discussion the question of introducing amendments to this document, from which the formation of the foundations of a law-governed economy began. Let us note straightaway that it is solely a matter of amendments to the law which do not alter its essence or basic content but do open up the opportunity to accelerate progress toward radical economic reform.

First and foremost, labor collectives will be granted the right to choose for themselves forms of economic management. This then deals a blow to the monopoly of departments accustomed to deciding as they see fit the fate of "subordinate links". Moreover, enterprises can now freely withdraw from an association. Those commitments envisaged by previous contracts are retained.

Moreover, enterprises, as autonomous socialist commodity producers, obtain the right to issue securities on the market and shares to mobilize extra financial resources, to take out targeted loans, and to carry out other operations of this kind. The legislation grants every enterprise without exception the right to foreign trade operations. Their rights to sell output produced in excess of the state order have been expanded and the state order itself is kept within sensible bounds. Finally a measure of clearly administrative character such as the rigid correlation between the increase in wages and labor productivity has been repealed. A system of a progressive tax on the increase in the labor remuneration fund is introduced until an integrated taxation system for the country is adopted.

Let us note a common feature of the innovations: They are all purely economic in nature. There is no attempt at administrative coercion! It is this which makes one believe that the Law on the State Enterprise in its renovated form will "pay off." For example, everyone is aware how acute the problem of expanding consumer goods production is. Neither instructions nor menacing resolutions have filled the consumer market. However, a system of bringing economic influence to bear on the situation has now been mapped out: enterprises, organizations, and farms which boost their labor remuneration fund by increasing the output of goods and services will not be subject to progressive taxation. This naturally makes it advantageous to double efforts in this direction desirable for us all.

The Law on the State Enterprise will probably continue to be further enhanced. But it is clear right now that it opens up a wide route toward developing leasing relations, creates clear prospects for forming the market, and drastically extends the scope of labor collectives' economic freedom.

Agricultural

'Experiment' To Let Farmers Earn Foreign Currency

LD1308130389 Moscow TASS in English 1239 GMT 13 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 13 TASS—The goal of a two-year experiment, which will be held in the Soviet Union in 1989-1990, is to emancipate farmers and give them the right to earn foreign currency and spend it as they wish, a deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers' State Commission for Food and Purchases said in a newspaper TRUD interview, published today.

Vyacheslav Chernoyvanov said that if the experiment proves successful operations by collective and state farms on the world market will become routine.

Farms wil be given the right not only to produce what they consider profitable but also to buy anything they need, without bureaucratic obstacles and far-fetched restrictions, he said.

Collective farms will now be able to buy a modern harvester, processing equipment or anything else offered by the world market, which is a good stimulus to growth in the production of scarce products, Chernoyvanov went on.

The state will gain from this, too, as money previously spent on consumer goods now will be used to buy means of production, which in the future will help renounce food imports.

According to the government's resolution, farmers growing wheat will be paid freely convertible currency for any amount of high quality grain they produce above the average production level in the 11th five-year plan period (1981-1985).

For leguminous and oil-bearing plants, the average production level is calculated over the years 1986-1988.

There will be no limitations on foreign currency payments to farms. The state will buy their products for world-level prices.

Foreign Trade Official Supports Plan

LD1208021189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1620 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow, 11 Aug (TASS)—The decision on the possibility of Soviet farms' selling grain to the state and receiving payment in "hard" currency will enable the Soviet Union to increase production of grain, to curtail its purchases abroad, and to improve the Soviet imports structure as a whole. This was how Oleg Klimov, general director of "Eksportkhleb" [All-Union Association of the Ministry of Foreign Trade], commented on the USSR Council of Ministers decision published here today. It is this Soviet association, carrying out the import of grain, which will, in accordance with the Soviet Government's decision, transfer [foreign] currency for sales to the state of a supplementary amount of grain to the accounts of Soviet collective farms and state farms. [Foreign] currency will be saved as a result of cutting grain imports. The new decision stimulates broadening the production of grain, vegetable oil, and seeds, said the general director of "Eksportkhleb." It is only important that the expected increase in grain production should not be accompanied by a growth in losses of grain owing to the absence of a sufficient quantity of elevators, trucks, and goods wagons.

It is unlikely that the innovation will manage to have a noticeable effect during the current year. It could, however, bring a considerable addition next year, Oleg Klimov believes. "Eksportkhleb" already has its first proposals from Soviet grain producers. In the first instance, from the northern Caucasus, southern RSFSR and the Ukraine, their import interests can also be discerned: the collective farms would above all like to import agricultural machinery, which would give them, the opportunity to raise the yield of grain land and to sell

even more grain for foreign currency in the following year. The reaction of the producers of Soviet combine harvesters and other machinery will most probably be negative, but nothing can be done; everyone must become accustomed to working under conditions of competition, the leader of the Soviet association believes.

Besides this, the foreign currency earned by state and collective farms can be used for importing consumer goods as well, which will help to stimulate the conscientious labor of agricultural workers.

In the 1986 calendar year, grain purchases by the Soviet Union abroad (without vegetable crops and oil-seed meal) comprised 26.7 million tonnes, Oleg Klimov reported. In 1987 they increased to 30.4 million tonnes; last year they reached 35,000,000 tonnes and in the current year they are at approximately the same level, the general director of Eksportkhleb announced.

Ligachev Discusses Sugar Beet Industry Problems

LD1108220489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 11 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The conference-cum-seminar on increasing the production of sugar beet and sugar ended today in Voronezh.

[Correspondent Ye. Sinitsyn] Everybody understood the tropical importance of this matter—both those who grow the sugar beet and those who make sugar from it. It is said that coordination of actions is a kind of real and material achievement. Well then, it can be considered that this has taken place. [video shows conference hall and participants departing]

After the conference, Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev and Aleksandr Vladimirovich Vlasov gave interviews for the "Vremya" program.

[Begin recording] [Ligachev] In order to get out of the so-called shortage sugar, it is necessary to know the true reasons, because otherwise we cannot determine the correct direction for our work. The main reason we do not have enough sugar—and this naturally evokes irritation in society—is that we have purely and simply reduced sugar production in recent years. For example, the country as a whole has only fulfilled the tasks for the first 3 years of the 5-years period by 89 percent. Last year alone, we received 1.6 million fewer tonnes of sugar by comparison with previous years. Seeing as things are like that, and in order to eliminate that shortage and to supply the people fully, it is necessary to tackle and, of course, to thoroughly reduce home- distilling—and better still eliminate it—and to concentrate the main forces on improving production of sugar. This is essentially what we have been tackling during these 2 days. We believe that the main thing here is the matters pertaining to organizational, technical, and economic restructuring in this industry. If we combine all the factors, the factors connected with the development of financial autonomy relations, of scientific-technical progress, and of organization of new forms of management, then we really can ensure a considerable increase in sugar. The main thing is to sharply cut down...[Ligachev changes thought] to re-equip technically and socially our sugar industry. That is one side of the matter. But we also need to give some thought today to activating what I would call the great resources which are contained in people and in work collectives and to revive socialist competition in the full sense of the word, socialist competition liberated from formalism and red tape. I would like merely to say one thing: that there should not be excessive noise about this entire matter, of course, that there should be a specific and businesslike approach. Where then is this socialist competition to be concentrated? At the place where the destiny of this matter is decided: the team, workshop, sector, works, rayon, and oblast. Then there will be benefit between these collectives and within these collectives. This is what I wanted to stress in particular.

[Sinitsyn] Thank you. [end recording]

[Begin recording] [Correspondent L. Maksimov] I know that the Russian Council of Ministers has developed an entire system of economic measures which should promote an increase in production of goods made from sugar beet.

[Vlasov] We have developed such a program. It is already in action. The main thing is integration of production and of processing. This means integration of collective farms and state farms which produce sugar beet with the sugar factories. We see a second direction as lying in the creation of scientific production systems. What are these? This means, again, that collective farms and state farms and the sugar factories work toward end performance. We established such a production system last year in the Erken- Shakhar rayon of Karachayevo-Cherkessiya. We think that another direction is very important today, and that is financial recovery in the sugar factories. Even for a factory which is operating well, the one which we visited yesterday, only R800,000 is left at its disposition out of R8 million profit. What can a factory do? How can it use that money in order to begin reconstruction and solve problems? In other words, these are very acute problems and we clearly need to solve them very quickly. [end recording]

Ligachev's Voronezh Visit Summed Up

LD1208140989 Moscow TASS in English 1349 GMT 12 Aug 89

[Text] Moscow August 12 TASS—Yegor Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, and Prime Minister of the Russian Federation Alexander Vlasov stayed

in the Voronezh region on August 9-11. They visited state and collective farms, food plants, consumers' cooperative societies and sugar beet plantations.

During meetings at plants and scientific organisations, Ligachev and Vlasov focussed on ways to increase the sugar output and improve the supply of sugar to the population. They pointed out the need to use the experience of those regions, territories and republics which have launched the production of simple tools and mechanisms for best breeders at local plants. They stressed the importance of improving the living and working conditions of sugar manufacturers.

Ligachev and Vlasov met members of the bureau of the regional Communist Party committee and the executive committee of the regional Soviet of People's Deputies to discuss the work of party organisations and Soviet Government bodies in modern conditions. They also met representatives of the Soviet mass media.

Voronezh Oblast Meets Grain Target
18240220 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 2 Aug 89 p 1

[Report by A. Katkalov: "Grain for the Homeland"]

[Text] Voronezh, 1 August—Today farmers of Voronezh Oblast fulfilled the order for the sale of grain to the state. The grain bins of the homeland have received 1.25 million tons of grain. And almost 80 percent of the wheat was received in the categories of strong and valuable, for which the farms received an additional R20 million.

What provided for the success? Mainly the activity of workers of the entire agro-industrial complex and the heroic labor of the machine operators, who under difficult weather conditions, threshed grain that had lodged and been twisted by the wind. Combine operators of the Semilukskiy Novosibirskiy kolkhoz [collective farm], V.P. Popov and S.I. Kaminov, with their Don-1500's threshed more than 10,000 quintals of grain each. They led the competition of communists participating in the harvest. Party and soviet organizations of the oblast, rayons, and farms skillfully directed the actions of all units of the harvest- transportation complex.

An important role was played by extensive introduction of a scientifically substantiated system of farming and especially intensive methods of raising winter wheat, the area of which has now doubled and amounts to 400,000 hectares. The greatest additional yield from the application of progressive technologies was obtained by kolkhozes and sovkhozes [state farms] of Bogucharskiy, Novousmanskiy, Talovskiy, Podgorenskiy, Rossoshanskiy, Semilukskiy, Liskinskiy, and other rayons. Leasing collectives acquitted themselves well.

While continuing the additional sale of grain at increased prices, farms of the oblast are storing up seeds, creating forage supplies, and preparing for an organized harvest of sugar beets, sunflowers, potatoes, and other late crops.

Ligachev Cited on Astrakhan Produce Conference
PM1108154189 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Aug 89 p 1

[Special correspondent M. Polyatykin article: "North-South: Moving Together. MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA Special Correspondent Reports from Astrakhan"]

[Excerpt] A conference on the problems of the fruit and vegetable complex was held yesterday in Astrakhan under the chairmanship of Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. A delegation from Moscow also took part in it.

In the space of 2 days party workers, oblast leaders, and directors of large enterprises from the southern oblasts, which produce agricultural output, and the northern oblasts, which consume it, familiarized themselves with Astrakhan Oblast's fruit and vegetable complex—one of the leading suppliers of fruit and vegetables.

The ministers, oblast committee secretaries, and chairmen of oblast soviet executive committees [oblispolkoms] attending the conference had made visits locally. That is why the people gathered in the Astrakhan Oblispolkom Hall of Sessions had a good knowledge of the situation.

The conference was opened by Ye.K. Ligachev. The previous day he had given a short interview to MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA.

"We have decided to examine," Yegor Kuzmich said, "how the south of our country tackles fruit and vegetable production. The fact is that recently, strange though it may seem, production of fruit, which literally everyone needs, has been diminishing rather than increasing. Not least in Astrakhan Oblast.

"That is why we believe that we need to analyze the situation very carefully and work out—and, of course, implement—measures to considerably increase production of fruit and vegetables. But not only to increase output. Perhaps the main thing is to look after, process, and sell that output. Our losses have been unbelievable. A whole range of measures—economic, social, organizational, economic, and cadre measures—and issues of material and technical supply will be examined in this respect. But the most important thing, believe me, is that if we looked after our agricultural produce and processed it in the way that civilized countries do, we would increase our food output by 20-25 percent.

"Losses of fruit, vegetables, and berries have been particularly high. After all, people thought for a long time, when they invested in agriculture, that the more we produced, the more we would have on our tables. But unfortunately, the situation continues to be that the more we produce the greater our losses. The task now is to distribute better all the resources that are distributed, and to give more to the processing sectors."

In response to a question on whether the conference plans to work out any document, Yegor Kuzmich said:

"No, we have plenty of documents—CPSU Central Committee documents, government documents, and union and republic documents. So it is a question of monitoring and checking execution." [Passage omitted]

Nikonov Visits Kirov Collective Farm
LD1008195189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 10 Aug 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast: Correspondent V. Golubev report—Golubev identified by caption]

[Excerpts] [Golubev] What should a collective farm (kolkhoz) be like? Should it exist at all? This is no idle question. Today, when the deepening of perestroyka has required a fundamental change in production relations in the countryside—the transition to leasing, the creation and strengthening of workers' collective holdings, peasant holdings and agricultural cooperatives, or, to put it in a nutshell, the rebirth of the peasant as the genuine owner of the land—a number of economists and current affairs commentators are talking about the elimination of collectives and state farms. The course being taken by the party's present agrarian policy is multifaceted. These are the very problems about which Viktor Petrovich Nikonov talked at the "Kirov" kolkhoz. [passage omitted] The CPSU Central Committee secretary paid particular attention to the processing of fruit and vegetables. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Nikonov] We need to site small works with a theoretical capacity of 2, 3, or a maximum of 5 million standard jars in every kolkhoz where there is the opportunity to grow fruit, vegetables, and other produce which can be preserved.

[Golubev] There is a lot of talk today about whether we need the kolkhoz or not. We have toured this farm and been convinced that we do need the kolkhoz. There is no doubt about that.

[Nikonov] Listen, I want to say (?to everyone), through Central Television, that the question whether or not we need the kolkhoz is asked by people who are completely cut off from life, who have neither any concrete thinking nor any specific work on the food program, but just abstractions. What is more, the foggier it is, the better it seems to be for some people. Another matter is that there should be an owner [khozyain] on each plot of land, with a contract or a lease for 10 or 15 years, that he should put...[changes thought] should not be a hired worker, but put his heart into his work and perform it with high quality, as he does on his own farmstead or maybe better, because he is working before the eyes of the people. That's what the question is about!

[Golubev] What question...

[Nikonov interrupting] If, in general, there is the opportunity in the nonchernozem zone or the Baltic region, say, of giving a person 40 or 50 hectares of land, let him take it for 50 years and pass it on to his heirs, and so on. Nobody has any objections. But we must not...

[Golubev interrupting] contrast...

[Nikonov continuing] (?say that) we welcome one form of ownership and are eliminating the other. [end recording]

[Golubev] There is your actual common sense. Is there any point in producing new monopolies in the theory of the development of our agrarian sector, which have never yet been fruitful? Perhaps we should settle on socialist pluralism? [video: general shots of farm; Nikonov and group examining crops; Nikonov in conversation with correspondent]

Volgograd Oblast Grain Tops Million Mark
18240221 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 1 Aug 89 p 1

[Unattributed report]

[Text] Volgograd, 31 July (TASS)—Volgograd grain growers have begun selling their 2-millionth tonne of grain.

More than half of it is strong and valuable wheat. The extensive introduction of a system of dry farming developed by scientists on the basis of many years of experience of the best farms, taking into account the peculiarities of each of the zones of the oblast, made it possible to obtain such a large harvest under the current difficult weather conditions.

The effectiveness of this scientific approach was proved by the collectives that switched over to the collective and leasing contract. Their constant concern for increasing the fertility of the fields was reflected both in the increased productivity and in the improvement of the quality of the grain.

But local farmers will have to do a great deal in order to avoid losses of the grain that has been raised. So far only one-third of the immense areas planted in grain in the oblast have been harvested. While on the southern farms, the harvest of early grain crops which was delayed

because of the rains, is nearing completion. On the rest of them, the majority of which are obtaining up to 30 quintals and more of excellent wheat, it is in full swing.

Military

Weapons-Grade Plutonium Reactor Shut Down

LD1208085789 Moscow TASS in English 0818 GMT 12 Aug 89

[Text] Chelyabinsk August 12 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Tkachenko:

A reactor to produce weapons-grade plutonium was shut down today at a defence factory in the Chelyabinsk region, southern Urals. This is the third reactor shut off in this industry.

Reactors stop running in line with the peace initiative of the Soviet Union which proposes to halt, under control, the production of fissionable materials for nuclear weapons. A large group of American congressmen, scientists and journalists, who have recently visited the top-secret south-Urals city near Chelyabinsk, could see for themselves that this initiative is real. They saw the idle "synthesizer of death" and received exhausting answers to their questions on this problem from Yevgeniy Velikhov, vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who accompanied the American guests.

Another two reactors are planned to be phased out at this plant next year. The released highly-qualified personnel will be used to service nuclear power stations.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Editor on Glasnost in Army

LD1208123589

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0230 GMT on 12 August broadcasts the "120 Minutes" program, hosted by Maksim Nikulin and Tatyana Andreyeva. In light of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Day, which is to be held tomorrow in Gorkiy Park, Nikulin talks in the studio with Ivan Mikhaylovich Panov, editor-in-chief of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA and Oleg Yevgeniyevich (Labykin), KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent.

(Labykin) sums up the events awaiting the visitors in Gorkiy Park tomorrow: All who wish to do so can ask questions of the editor-in-chief; there will be a section dealing with military history; psychologists, sexuologists, and sociologists will also be answering visitors' questions. There will be a major rock music festival in the evening, he adds.

Nikulin then turns to Panov and says: "The attitude to the Army is not, so to speak, unanimous...glasnost, has, in my view, at long last, entered the Army." He asks Panov what is his view on this and what are his editorial plans for the future.

Panov says: "I must confirm that from the many years of existence in a closed zone and in super-secrecy, the Army has in a short space of time reached an open zone. But because this is an exotic zone, the interest in this zone has grown sharply. And in its critical mood, society would naturally see behind the green fence primarily the negative aspects of Army life. This is very natural, especially as there are many aspects like this in our country. A kind of transformation has occurred, that certain pages of the history and even certain facts of the Army life has somewhat receded and the acute social, legal and other problems of the Army have been elevated to prominence." He says that in these conditions, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA must seek its own approaches. "We seek them, but this process is not easy. I will draw one example. While we were seeking official approval for making public the RU-160 strategic aircraft, U.S. Admiral Crowe had already sat in the cockpit of this aircraft," says Panov.

Panov then goes on to illustrate the problems of the Army dealt with by the newspaper by reading the headlines of today's edition of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. He notes that "the Army should turn its face toward society and society should also turn its face toward the Army. And we, in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, are trying to join all these threads." He concludes his browsing through the pages of today's edition by drawing attention to the article about the cross erected by the Army in Lithuania commemorating the 1863 uprising. He adds: "Well, I can tell you in passing that many in Lithuania consider our soldiers to be occupiers."

In conclusion, Panov says that the Army is now being reduced by 500,000 men, but it must still protect the country's security. Therefore the issue of the quality of the Army is coming to the forefront. Nikulin thanks both guests for participating in the program, and invites Muscovites to join KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Day in Gorkiy Park.